Daily Report

East Europe

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13 August 1996

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Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-157 *13 August 1996*

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Balkans: Rehn Says Human Rights Abuses in Balkans Increasing

AU1208162396 Paris AFP in English 1543 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Helsinki, Aug 12 (AFP)—The number of human rights violations in the former Yugoslavia has increased since the spring and the situation is "not good," UN special envoy on human rights Elisabeth Rehn said on Monday.

Speaking at a press conference upon her return to Helsinki from a tour of the Balkans, the former Finnish defense minister said that the "situation was better in the spring, the hatred had been subdued somewhat."

"But right now it is not at all good," Rehn said.

During her eighth visit to the region, Rehn visited the Krajina region of Croatia, Mostar in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

She deemed the situation to be most severe in Krajina, where human rights organisations and their employees have experienced bomb threats, she said.

The special envoy also reiterated her dismay at the ethnic discrimination rampant in the Croatian government's operations.

"There are thousands of people in Krajina that don't officially exist because the Croatian government doesn't recognize people born in Krajina under the Serb administration," she said.

"Despite all their promises, the Croatian government is putting the brakes on the return of (tens of thousands of) Serb refugees" who fled a Croatian army offensive last year, she said.

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Albania: Defense Minister Leaves for Visit to U.S.

AU1208170896 Tirana ATA in English 0935 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 12 (ATA)—The Albanian Defence Minister Safet Zhulali left Sunday for a visit to the U.S. upon the invitation of NATO General Secretary Javier Solana and the Commander in Chief of the Pacific U.S. Armed Forces of Marine Corps Sheeshen [name as received].

He will attend the military exercises code named "Cooperative Osprey '96" which will be conducted in the context of NATO's programme, in the Partnership for Peace accord in North Carolina. Military troops from three NATO member countries and 16 from its partner countries will participate in these exercises. Albania will be represented with its peace keeping troops which will try to appropriate the best experiences of NATO Armies standards.

The Defence Ministry spokesman said Zhulali will inspect the Albanian troops in NATO's military exercises in South Carolina. He will also meet and hold talks with senior officials of Pentagon, U.S. State Department and Congress.

Albania: Troops Depart for 'Cooperative Osprey '96' Exercises

AU1208201596 Tirana ATA in English 1025 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 12 (ATA)—The Albanian military troops after serious training in the international training centre in Bize, close to Tirana, left Sunday for the U.S. military exercises code named "Cooperative Osprey '96," spokesman of Defence Ministry said.

These exercises are organised in the context of the NATO programme in the Partnership for Peace Accord and will be conducted in U.S. "Leyen" Camp of marine corps in North Carolina. The Albanian troops will participate in these military exercises alongside military troops of three NATO member countries U.S., Canada and Netherlands as well as 16 NATO partner countries.

The Albanian troops during these three-week exercises of a peace keeping character will get acquainted and appropriate the best experiences of search and rescue operations in urbane areas. The Albanian Army will continuously enrich, alongside the rich experience won during "Peaceful Eagle '96," its experience in peace keeping operations aiming the high standards of NATO. These exercises will serve them to grow professionally. This is the second U.S. training exercises the Albanian troops participate in, besides other military exercises of a peace keeping character conducted in Albania.

Albania: Report Analyzes Opposition's Absence From Roundtable

AU1008151296 Tirana POLI I QENDRES in Albanian 9 Aug 96 p 3

[Article by A. Kola: "20 October Recalls 26 May"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After successfully provoking a boycott by the opposition parties, Berisha appeared before journalists immediately after the presidential roundtable yesterday and spoke about the results achieved at the meeting, from which the Social Democratic Party, the Democratic Alliance, the Socialist Party, the Democratic Party of the Right, and others were absent. Asked by a journalist about the absence of the opposition, the president ascribed it to the crisis that has enveloped these parties, or the "Red boycott" to which they have resorted. Nevertheless, Berisha did not admit before cameras that the opposition was absent, and as proof of its presence mentioned the National Front and the Human Rights Union [PBDNj].

Thus, the head of state has reduced the entire opposition to Selfo of the National Front and one-third of Melo's party because, as we know, of the three PBDNj deputies who won seats in parliament, two have refused to enter parliament because of the state's vote-rigging and violence on 26 May, and only Melo himself has joined the deputies appointed by the Democratic Party [PD].

Berisha will work wonders with an opposition consisting of Selfo and one-third of Melo, well beyond appointing a commission and improving the electoral legislation as he sees fit. Moreover, these members of the "opposition" are careful in their interviews not to step out of the government's line. This "opposition" of two members of a 140-seat parliament will inevitably become an insuperable obstacle to the PD's legislative initiatives.

Berisha's immediate appearance on state television is not simply a vice of his but a political alibi of the sort he so loves. He is trying to create the impression that dialogue is continuing according to the recommendations of the Council of Europe and that this dialogue involves the opposition. Only those participating in the "Red boycott" are missing.

The "opposition" members Selfo and Melo were also interviewed alongside the president yesterday. Both said the presidential discussion table was successful and that they "exerted an influence" with "constructive ideas" for the conduct of dialogue. One other fact struck television viewers. The faces of Godo, Selfo, and Melo were

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more sun-tanned than at the first discussion table, which means that they must have foregone the beach for this important discussion with the president.

Albania: Daily Alleges PS, U.S. Greek Lobby Closely Linked

AU1208183696

[FBIS Summary] Tirana ALBANIA in Albanian on 11 August on page three carries a 5,000-word article by R. Joni entitled "The Albanian Socialists' 'New America,'" alleging close ties between the Socialist Party (PS) and the Greek lobby in the United States.

The article begins, "Nobody had greater problems than the Albanian communists in breaking out of their political shell after Albania opened up. A long history of crime under the dictatorship and a legacy of xenophobia toward the West made up a heavy burden for the Socialists as they made new friends. Besides opportunistic ties with the gang of Bettino Craxi in 1991, the new staff of the former Albanian communists were unable to cross the Adriatic except with the help of the boats that brought food aid for the hungry Albanians. Moreover, the conflict to the north of Albania and historical inhibitions in Albanian-Serbian relations prevented the Albanian left from opening up toward their old communist friends. Their greatest and most realistic hope lay in finding opponents of Berisha in the national sense, with whom political ties could subsequently be forged. Our southern neighbor Greece, with its political diversity, extremist circles, passionate politicians, and committed emigres with plenty of personalities among them offered a suitable background.

"The Albanian Socialists' ties with Greece started normally. Papandreou's Socialists, especially their most conservative wing, were the only Western socialists to accept the Albanian Socialists' credentials and to publicly promise them help." "However, after a joint declaration with Papandreou and several visits by Gramoz Ruci to Ioaninna, the Socialists' relations with PASOK [Panhellenic Socialist Movement] failed to record any substantial development. Our southern neighbors kept their distance and did not cultivate any meaningless ties with the former communists."

After outlining the deterioration of relations with Greece following the murder of two Albanian soldiers at the Peshkepi border post on 10 April 1994 and Greece's blockade in the EU of a grant of ECU35 million for Albania, the article continues:

"Among those accused by the Greek judiciary of the massacre of 10 April at Peshkepi was Nicholas Gage, known in Greece as Niko Gaxoiannis. A leader of the POAK [expansion unknown] and closely connected to the financial circles supporting the terrorist organization MAVI [North Epirus Liberation Front] that carried out the massacre of Peshkepi, Gage is at the same time a prominent spokesman for the Greek cause in U.S. politics. A best-selling journalist, a Western cryptonationalist racked by Balkan complexes, a man both of modern drawing rooms and guerrilla warfare, a foremost adviser to Mitsotakis over the famous six points for the annexation of the south of Albania, and an explicator of the human rights of the Greek minority since Albania opened up in 1990, Gage is the Greek-American who is best informed about the Albanian political situation."

The report continues: "Interested in using the opposition in order to encourage a nonauthoritarian Albanian state that would make it easier for him to realize his political goals, Gage was very much tempted by the Albanian left-wing opposition's attitude after 10 April [1994]. The fact that the left-wing opposition blamed the Peshkepi massacre in the Albanian Government's incontinence and 'lack of vigilance' was a message sent in two directions, to Athens and to Washington. However, time was to show that, while trying to obtain two powerful points of leverage, the Albanian left lost both but won the sympathy of the Vorioepiros lobby in the United States, which began to tackle the Socialists' most serious problems, their isolation and their inheritance from the past."

The article goes on to describe the end of two years of "tension" with Greece, "which began with a priest's beard and ended when the handcuffs were taken off the wrists of five members of the Greek minority in Albania, who, once in freedom, were no longer needed by anybody."

The article continues, "There was a U.S. factor in this crisis that was less connected to the official standpoints of Clinton's cabinet than to Clinton's ambassador, Richard Schifter, who came urgently to Albania at the end of August 1994 in order to mediate in the Albanian-Greek crisis. He ran up against a coolness in Berisha's office and a lack of willingness to deal with a U.S. intermediary who was not all that official and had been sent more by the 'Greeks' in Clinton's offices. Schifter failed in his renewed contacts with Berisha, even though he called Berisha's important friends in Washington to his aid. Berisha's consistent national stand indeed led to a mark of failure being noted in the diplomatic curriculum vitae of Ambassador Schifter, something that he was never to forgive Berisha in any document he was to sign during the Clinton administration.

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"A golden age was approaching for Nicholas Gage and the unprecedented role he was to play as a toady to the mighty and a condescender to the humble. Berisha's first enemy in the White House was created, and the road to Berisha's 'enemies' in Tirana was not long."

The article goes on to describe the visit of President Berisha, "the charismatic Balkan leader" to Washington, and states, "The meeting between Berisha and Clinton was considered a brilliant success, one of the most successful of any Eastern president to Washington. But surprises were in store for him in Boston, the 'capital city' of the Vorioepirotes, when Berisha was informed a few hours before the ceremony that an award announced for him had been canceled because of the Greek minority in Albania. Gage totally mobilized the local press in order to discredit Berisha. THE BOSTON GLOBE published an article by Gage calling Berisha a dictator, and the well-known professional spread his net to include not only the Greek minority but also Fatos Nano. With a total lack of political responsibility, the Albanian Socialists did not hide Gage's article, but photocopied it, and two of the Socialist deputy chairmen displayed it to journalists as if it were 'the discovery of a new America.' In fact, the new America of the Socialists is the POAK."

The article continues, "At first, the Socialists were linked to the POAK only through Fatos Nano's former intimate, Deputy Anastas Angjeli. An Albanian citizen of Greek nationality, Angjeli came from Cuke near Sarande, a village populated by the Greek minority but bordering on entirely Albanian-populated territory. Angjeli's ties to Gage and the POAK were more national than political. Careless of the 'great aspirations' of the Vorioepirotes and at the same time pragmatic and tolerant, Angjeli first of all served as an important bridge to establish ties between Gage, Schifter, and the 'Anti-Berisha station' in the White House. The Albanian press began to carry stories about Fatos Nano's discovery of his 'new America.' Nano's best friend Angjeli said in the press that the White House was interested in Nano, his tolerance, his pro-Western tendencies, etc. The marketing of the new Albanian leader began. Berisha's opponent was now managed entirely as a mechanism in the hands of Vorioepiros groups in the United States. Despite his nationality, Angjeli was soon replaced in his role as mediator."

The article goes on to describe the election campaign of May 1996, in which Berisha deployed his "charisma," and continues:

"Faced with this offensive, the Socialists possessed nothing but messages coming from the Vorioepirotes in the United States, who had calculated everything carefully. A PS delegation was invited to the United States by MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, a periodical directed by Nikolas Stavrou, a former Albanian citizen of Greek nationality, who had fled to the United States. It is in this periodical that Gage gives vent to his furious desire to move the Greek border up to Lezhe.

"The price for the visit was heavy, and the Socialists found that Gage did not possess the key for entry into the United States. Nevertheless, they were rewarded for their obedience and offered meetings with senior U.S. officials, of whom the first and last was, as always, Ambassador Schifter. Yet the Socialists' electoral propaganda was not of the proper caliber and the most senior U.S. authorities spoke out in favor of Berisha."

The article continues, "One of the reasons given for Berisha's weakening in Tirana has been the cause of Kosova. The congressmen committed to human rights in the Balkans such as Lantos, Porter, Engel, etc., are at the same time signatories of several petitions about human rights in Kosova and also about the human rights of the Greek minority in Albania. Their opposition to Berisha is obvious, and the equation between the two problems is provocative. These circles, 'interested in a settlement to the question of Kosova within the framework of extensive autonomy,' are encouraging the U.S. Administration to urge Milosevic to start dialogue with the Albanians. They claim that Milosevic's condition is that Berisha must be weakened and that a greater distance must be established between him and the people who support Rugova in the United States. There is still no sign of such a scheme becoming the White House's official policy, but it is the product of the same circles, and the 'America of the Albanian Socialists' is on the side of those welcoming this solution."

The article goes on to describe the "resounding Democratic Party victory" in the 26 May elections, in which "sections of the state exceeded their responsibilities." The article continues, "Moreover, formal U.S. Government mechanisms used in such situations were brought into play. Porter and Lantos, the former a great defender of the Greek lobby and the second wounded in his pride because of the failure of a tourist trip he undertook last year to southern Albania in the company of Gage, denounced Berisha's dictatorship in the presence of Gramoz Pashko at a U.S. Congress hearing. The PS Deputy Chairman Ilir Meta had also been invited to this hearing, but he refused to go. Committed to the reform wing of the PS and responsible for his party's international relations, Meta in fact considered it speculative to play the Vorioepiros card in order to further discredit Berisha. Moreover, the ruling Greek Socialists had offered Berisha unstinted help in his election campaign.

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Meta seized on the historical contradictions between the Vorioepirotes of the United States and the Athens government as a signal that real success did lot lie with the POAK, but in Athens."

"Attacked by journalists of POLI I QENDRES for his attitude to the Vorioepirotes, Meta in fact boosted his popularity with this stand. The press discovered that Gage had made him an offer in an Athens hotel to enter the United States through doors he alone could open, but Meta had not accepted, and, after receiving a promise from Simitis' Socialists that they would support the reformers in the PS, he had returned to Tirana."

The articles continues, "After Meta's curt refusal, which was an augury of the refusal of the PS forums, the Vorioepirotes and certain circles in Washington finally turned their attention to the Nano-Ceka-Pashko axis. There had also been serious efforts of this kind before the election campaign on the part of the diplomat Siebentritt. Siebentritt had proposed a powerful coalition, asking the Socialists to grant 25 constituencies to the Center Pole, a figure subsequently cut by Nano to 20 and by the PS General Management Committee to 10.

"Following the elections, messages arriving at the Center Pole headquarters in envelopes of the same color suggested the idea of a new leader of the opposition, who, according to the criteria of 'new America' was to be Neritan Ceka. A quick-witted lad, Ceka's negotiator, set off for the Socialists' hunger strike and suggested to them the 'American plan' for Ceka and the destiny of the opposition. The reply was fatal. Two of the PS deputy chairmen announced in the presence of all the strikers, 'Tell Neritan Ceka that if he has decided to become leader, we would prefer to have Sali Berisha who puts you in prison when he is in power rather than Neritan Ceka, who is ready to put you in prison when he is still in opposition.' It was at this moment that the great chill set in between the PS deputy chairmen and the Center Pole and the latter's major rapprochement with Nano began."

The article concludes, "But how real is the 'new America' of the Albanian Socialists? Reality will show this. This week, Clinton has send two telegrams of congratulation to Berisha with a text that exceeds normal courtesy. Meanwhile, Berisha is at the center of criticisms over his 'stubbornness' in slamming the door in the faces of senior U.S. officials, victims of the plans for 'a new America for the Albanians.' So far, he has not responded to the criticisms, or has at least not explained any particular aspects of them. He did not even speak out when the authors of the famous article '$6 Million for 3 Million Albanians' [published in ZERI I POPULLIT after visit to Tirana by Secretary of State Baker in June 1991] announced that the United States will break off its aid if Berisha does not think again.

"Regardless of Berisha's attitude and the way in which he may have felt about the major speculation with the United States conducted by some official installed in Washington, it is clearly evident that it has still not been possible to sell this speculation as a plan that the U.S. Administration will apply, and which goes beyond a freeze of relations. Moreover, Western Europe's benevolent attitude to Berisha and especially the signs of the chancelleries of Europe opening up toward him are simply further light shed on the Socialists' 'new America.' This 'new America' will not exist as long as the Socialists do not have their own Columbuses. The vessel borrowed from Nicholas Gage sank before even leaving the waters of the Mediterranean, together with all Gage's most recent plans, which have started, as if in a rerun of the past, with the most recent decision for a boycott of the forthcoming local elections."

Albania: Appeals Court To Try 6 Former Communist Officials

AU1208201196 Tirana ATA in English 1100 GMT 11 Aug 96

[by A. Frasheri]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 11 (ATA)—An Appeals Court panel will try six former AWP [Albanian Workers' Party] senior officials on August 12.

Foto Cami, Prokop Murra, Muho Asllani, Gaqo Nesho, Zef Loka and Dilaver Bengasi are charged with crimes against humanity, in complicity, envisaged by articles 74, 25 and 67.

The Appeals Court panel will examine the case after the defendants's appeal rejecting the Tirana Court's rule.

After the denunciation made by the Forum of the Independent Democrat Intellectuals, the Tirana Prosecutor's office accused them of crimes against humanity in complicity while they were senior officials of the AWP and communist dictatorial state.

The court's jury declared them guilty and sentenced Foto Cami, Prokop Murra and Muho Asllani to life imprisonment, Gaqo Nesho to 16 years imprisonment, Zef Loka 20 years imprisonment and Dilaver Bengasi 18 years imprisonment.

The accused, while in high state and party posts, organised and carried out "the class struggle," signing and ordering the internal exile of many people and families.

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During the communist dictatorship some 100,000 Albanians are thought to have been sent into internal exile for political reasons or for a word uttered. Those who were executed, convicted, send to internal exile and persecuted for these motives is thought to be around 500,000.

The Appeals Court has earlier tried on the same charges eight other former senior officials. This court has substantially changed the sentences upheld by the district court. The Forum of the Independent Democratic Intellectuals has protested against these decisions.

Albania: Government Plans To Build, Renovate Health Centers

AU1208201996 Tirana ATA in English 1025 GMT 12 Aug 96

[by A. Milo]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 12 (ATA)—Some 54 health centers will be rehabilitated during 1996 in 18 districts of Albania, by contribution of the Albanian government and the World Bank.

Meanwhile the PHARE [Economic restructuring aid for Poland and Hungary] programme's projects envisage the completion of 18 health centers in three districts of the country.

The building and reconstruction of health centers in all the districts of Albania will be carried out according to a programme drafted by the Ministry of Health and Environmental Protection in cooperation with experts of the World Bank and the European Union.

The Albanian government's programme stipulates that until 2000 the whole country will be provided with health centers.

A survey carried out in 1993 showed that 24 percent of health centers in Albania were completely destroyed.

Experts of the Health Ministry, the World Bank and the European Union have drawn to the conclusion that some 500 health centers are needed to cover the territory of the republic.

The number of the centers, newly built or rehabilitated, so far exceeds

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Bulgaria: Spokesman Outlines Pirinski's Position on FYROM

AU1308101696 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 13 Aug 96 p 10

[Article by Ivaylo Kalfin spokesman for BSP candidates Georgi Pirinski and Ivan Marazov: "BSP Candidate and Macedonia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Apparently the Bulgarian public has been stirred by the views of the Pirinski-Marazov presidential elections duo regarding the development of relations between Bulgaria and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM].

I believe my colleagues from the National Assembly's Foreign Policy Commission, among whom there are representatives of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies [VMRO-SMD], recall that the positions presented by Georgi Pirinski have been fully accepted by the leaders of all parliamentary political forces, which also recommended that he continue to adhere to those positions.

There are two groups of issues in our relations with the Republic of Macedonia. The first is related to unblocking and developing bilateral relations, and the second to interpreting the past, history, issues of everyday life, culture, and language.

The nationally responsible position of the Bulgarian side is to do everything possible to find a mutually acceptable solution to the problems related to our present and future. As far as issues related to the past are concerned, we are prepared to discuss them on a scientific basis, without burdening our current relations.

The Macedonian side adheres to the opposite approach—binding the two groups of issues together and seeking unilateral benefit. That approach is unacceptable, and we cannot agree to such inflexibility.

Bulgaria has traveled its half of the road toward finding a solution to unblock the development of our bilateral relations.

The character of Bulgarian-Macedonian relations also predetermines the important role of many contacts taking place outside official diplomatic relations; that is; economic, cultural, sports, scientific, and other contacts. They could play a significant role in implementing the common quest for constructing benevolent and friendly relations.

This position was expressed in Minister Pirinski's meetings with the Macedonian foreign minister. Unfortunately, Macedonia's position, which is unconstructive and unacceptable to our country, caused Mr. Pirinski's visit to the Republic of Macedonia, originally scheduled to take place in May 1996, to be postponed. Skopje demonstrated a similar position during a meeting of the Southeastern European foreign affairs ministers, when it used pressure and abused Bulgaria's position to resolve an issue in its relations with a third country.

The fact that such an attitude remains outside normal international practice is confirmed by statements in support of Mr. Pirinski's actions that were issued not only by participants in the Balkan meeting, but also by representatives of countries, organizations, and institutions outside our region.

Regardless of the problems that have been forced upon us and that return us to the past and contradict modern European standards, there undoubtedly exists the possibility of finding mutually beneficial solutions with the Macedonian side.

That is Mr. Pirinski's position on Bulgarian-Macedonian relations. They are based on the consensus that exists among all political forces.

The public is familiar with those positions and the manner in which they are defended. We have every reason to believe they will be similarly defended by Georgi Pirinski as Bulgarian president.

I would also like to stress that Mr. Pirinski does not and will not accept any support from the political organization "Ilinden" United Macedonian Organization, and its variant, the United Macedonian Organization "Ilinden"—Democratic Movement, which do not exist in the eyes of the law. The attempts by those organizations to become legitimate were rejected by the court as contrary to Bulgarian legislation.

Bulgaria: Commentary on Muslim Support in Presidential Election

AU1308111696 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 13 Aug 96 p 9

[Article by Fikrie Salifova: "Religious Leaders Kindle Political Passions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Nedim Gendzhev, chairman of the Supreme Religious Council, has declared his support for Georgi Pirinski, the presidential candidate of the leftist forces. An extraordinary national conference was convened, without any special reason, and adopted 10 amendments to the Muslim Religion Charter. Even the notorious retired Captain Sabri Mustafa, Gendzhev's party friend who rules the Kurdzhali Oblast Mufti Office as the chairman of the illegitimate Mosque Board of Trustees, appointed single-handedly by Gendzhev, could not explain the amendments. In an absolutely deliberate manner, the present Muslim leaders are trying

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through their immediate circle to rekindle religious conflicts on the eve of the presidential elections. They are trying to manipulate the hungry believers with bait regarding a supply of cheap animal fodder and increasing the imams' wages by 1,000-2,000 leva in October. The attacks against the activists and mayors of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] have intensified. They are being blamed for the poor administration of the national leaders.

Despite his efforts Gendzhev will hardly be able to implement the party instructions. Several elections in the past have proved that DPS-2 is not a serious opponent of the original DPS. The Muslims also remember when Gendzhev was their chief Mufti, and who appointed him to this post. The plan of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] to destroy the DPS monopoly over the Muslim population by the establishment of a DPS-2 misfired, because Gendzhev is not a person who enjoys solid authority among the Muslims.

The support Gendzhev promised Pirinski will not bring any of the votes of the ethnic Turks to the BSP candidate. The influence of Dogan's DPS over this population is exceptionally strong for various reasons. Dogan himself recently said in Kurdzhali that even a theoretical possibility of the DPS supporting the leftist candidate does not exist. The Muslims guarantee at least 300,000 votes for the candidate and president of the united opposition. The ethnic Turks have no reason to support Pirinski because they find themselves in the social pit under BSP rule. The Party of Democratic Changes, led by Mukhades Nalbant, also declared its support for Petur Stoyanov [presidential candidate for the united opposition]. The people in the eastern Rhodopes Mountains admire Petur Stoyanov, who immediately after his visits abroad came to their very poor region in order to listen to the complaints of his fellow countrymen.

Bulgaria: Sopot Military Equipment Enterprise Head Interviewed

AU1308095496 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 13 Aug 96 p 4

[Interview with Iliya Gunchev, director of the Sopot Military Equipment Enterprise, by Simo Rusev; place and date not given: "Some 18 Foreign Markets Closed for Bulgaria"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rusev] Mr. Gunchev, why did you decided to send 8,000 workers of the military equipment enterprise on compulsory leave?

[Gunchev] The decision to send them on 15 days of paid leave in the second part of August is based on Article 173, Paragraph 4 of the Labor Code. It was discussed four times with the 16 different plants and two institutes of our enterprise, and the leaders of the numerous departments, services, and shops. All of them without exception supported temporarily stopping the enterprise's production. It was calculated that this will save about 110 million leva in electric power, transportation, and heating.

[Rusev] The trade unions are accusing you of the Sopot Military Equipment Enterprise's ruin and financial bankruptcy. What could you say in your defense?

[Gunchev] The statements by the leaders of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria and the Podkrepa Labor Confederation create a twisted impression about the situation in the enterprise. The analyses of the economists indicate something complete different. During the first half of the year, the situation in the enterprise improved. We even showed a profit. The revenue from sales is greater than the one obtained during the same period in 1994 and 1995. The revenue allowed us to increase the wages 20 percent on 1 January, and 35 percent in April. Now the average gross wage in our enterprise is 12,800 leva [about $65]—the highest in comparison with all other military plants. Our enterprise paid its debts to the banks. For some two months, the enterprise has been functioning on the basis of its own means.

[Rusev] Is it true that you are refusing to develop new joint projects with Russia?

[Gunchev] Not only Russia, but also with Ukraine.... The truth is that since 1984 no one has been prepared to share any technological documents without an appropriate payment. Financial participation in the joint projects is required. According to the clauses of the agreement signed with the IMF, Bulgaria does not have the right to trade with 18 countries in which we have already set foot and established markets. We have been compelled to declassify information pertaining to our deals in the last five years. This is undermining our prestige in the eyes of potential future customers as well.

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Slovakia: Meciar Congratulates Chernomyrdin on Reelection

LD1208174596 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has sent a letter of congratulations to Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin on the occasion of the latter's reelection.

Meciar stresses that not only the citizens of Slovakia, but also he personally, see in Viktor Chernomyrdin one of the main guarantors of the significant democratic and reform processes taking place in Russia. At the same time, he voices the conviction that the friendly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries will continue to develop and strengthen.

Slovakia: Migas Rejects Speculation About Disunity in SDL

AU1208173996 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 12 Aug 96 p 2

[Article by Matus Pavle: "The SDL Expects 'Fundamental Democratization Changes' in September"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—A session of the Party of the Democratic Left Republic Executive Committee (RVV SDL) attended by Chairman Jozef Migas and Deputy Chairmen Lubomir Fogas and Peter Weiss was held on Saturday [10 August]. A statement was adopted in which the participants accused the representatives of the ruling coalition of reacting disdainfully and unprofessionally to the increasing signals about the Slovak Republic's deteriorating foreign political position. At the same time, they described the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Slovak National Party as the creators of Slovakia's gradual political isolation.

In reply to a question from SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA on how much truth there is to the claims about disunity within the SDL, especially between Chairman J. Migas and Deputy Chairmen P. Weiss and B. Schmognerova, Migas said the following: "None at all; this is speculation." According to Peter Weiss, the HZDS is trying, through some of its statements, to cause a split within the SDL. "We know that four SDL deputies are, so to speak, on a blacklist—that is, they never have a chance of being elected to certain parliamentary bodies. There is no good or frozen-out group within the SDL. We are guided by the resolutions of our 4th Congress," said Peter Weiss.

The SDL representatives also expressed their willingness to discuss Slovakia's integration into NATO and the European Union with the opposition parliamentary parties in case there is a change in the power-wielding situation. According to Peter Weiss, a delay in the Slovak Republic's admission into the EU would have a very negative impact, especially on the young generation, for which the current ruling coalition would be responsible. Because time is against the given integrative objectives, the RVV SDL has tabled a demand for "fundamental democratization changes" that should take place at the September meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic.

Slovakia: SDL's Fogas Denies Existence of Two Camps in Party

AU1208175096 Bratislava NOVY CAS in Slovak 12 Aug 96 p 2

[Interview with Slovak SDL Deputy Chairman Lubomir Fogas by an "(ay)"-signed correspondent; place and date not given: "Attempts To Split the SDL Will Be Unsuccessful"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [NOVY CAS] It is rumored that there are two camps within the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL]. One is apparently willing to cooperate with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], while the other is not.

[Fogas] This issue has been foisted upon the SDL for some time. The SDL, however, has been a united party organizationally and in terms of its personnel since its congress. We discuss all of the problematic issues, but there are no camps we could characterize as such.

[NOVY CAS] Has V. Meciar's violation of his written undertaking helped those of your colleagues who were willing to believe in cooperation with the HZDS to come to their senses?

[Fogas] Look, every situation in politics can be dealt with on the basis of political talks, and their outcome should be mutual political agreements. Because no such agreements have yet been concluded, it is hard to talk about a group that would be willing to form a coalition at present. I think we assessed the situation very realistically and soberly after the ruling coalition became nonfunctional, and our first conclusion was that the ruling coalition had not legally foundered and would continue to operate. This has come to pass, so any thoughts on this subject are unrealistic.

[NOVY CAS] Your party colleague P. Weiss has said that there is a blacklist within the HZDS on which there are four of your deputies, that the ruling movement will never be willing to cooperate with them, and that this is supposed to be an attempt to cause a rift within the SDL. Do you know which deputies are involved?

[Fogas] I cannot answer this question because I have not seen such a list. It is possible that there are certain people who are less acceptable for certain political parties, but I think that any attempts to differentiate among SDL representatives are completely pointless because they will not be successful.

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Hungary: Horn's 13 Aug Meeting With Meciar Postponed

LD1208143496 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] There will be no meeting between the Hungarian and Slovak heads of government tomorrow. According to the statement of the prime minister's press office, the two prime ministers talked on the phone today and agreed to postpone their meeting. The talks between Gyula Horn and Vladimir Meciar were planned for tomorrow in Komarom. No reason was given for the cancellation of the unofficial meeting.

Hungary: Embassy Denies Canceling Horn-Meciar 13 Aug Meeting

LD1208173796 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A planned meeting between Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn and Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar tomorrow has been postponed, the two prime ministers agreed during their telephone conversation this afternoon. [passage omitted]

[Begin Bratislava correspondent Alfred Somogyi recording] The Slovak Government Press Office issued a brief statement before 1600 this afternoon. I quote: In accordance with a personal agreement between Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn this afternoon, the planned meeting will be postponed and a new date for the talks will be set later.

This is the statement about the postponement of the prime ministers' meeting planned to be held in Komarom [northern Hungary] tomorrow.

Asked by Duna Television, an official at the Hungarian Republic's Bratislava Embassy said that it was not Budapest which had cancelled the Horn-Meciar meeting. We could receive no further information from the embassy since the organization of the prime ministers' meeting naturally falls within the sphere of authority of the prime minister's offices in the two countries. [end recording]

Hungary: Protests Force Banning of Hungarian Ceremony in Ukraine

LD1208192396 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Cultural Association of Sub-Carpathian Hungarians rejects Ukrainian and Hungarian opinions, to the effect that the association can be blamed for failure to inaugurate a memorial to the Hungarian conquest and holding the related commemoration ceremony, planned for 15 August.

As is known, it has been said that the plan for the erection of the memorial is significantly different from the plan approved by the planning office.

Miklos Kovacs, the association's chairman, said that the association has and will do everything possible in order to settle the dispute. He said that the erection and planned inauguration of the memorial did not initially come up against obstacles. Even Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma approved the plan. Following the payment of the legally required amount for the acquisition of the land of 0.2 hectares for long-term use, the association received the land from the local village [name indistinct] council in the Veretski pass.

However, the authorities in charge stopped the monument's preparatory works and rejected the association's request for a commemoration ceremony to be held on 15 August. The explanation refers to counterdemonstrations announced by Ukrainian democratic organizations. [passage omitted]

Hungary: Ministry Official Optimistic About Treaty With Romania

LD1208201196 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Prior to his departure to Bucharest, Ferenc Somogyi, state secretary at the Foreign Ministry, said that adoption of a joint interpretation document on Recommendation No. 1201 of the Council of Europe will remove the main obstacle to the conclusion of the basic treaty.

[Somogyi] I think optimism is perhaps justified now that there is hope of concluding an adequate, good basic treaty based on mutual interests by adopting a Romanian solution to a problem the Romanian side has so far regarded as the main obstacle to reaching agreement, namely the interpretation of Recommendation No. 1201 of the Council of Europe.

Talks have been going on for years. What is perhaps new is that views have recently got closer regarding the wording of this key problem. However, I would recall that it began in Bucharest last year when Laszlo Kovacs [Hungarian foreign minister] proposed a similar solution [joint interpretation document].

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Hungary: T-72's To Arrive From Belarus After 20 Aug

AU1308092196 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 10 Aug 96 p 3

[Article by "v.f.": "The 100 Tanks Will Be Completely Renewed—The T-72's Are Coming Soon"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The first 30 of the 100 T-72 tanks that the Defense Ministry bought from Belarus will arrive after 20 August.

Colonel Jozsef Csala, head of the purchasing department, said that Hungarian technical control experts are already in Belarus inspecting the military equipment—which needed refurbishment after long storage—in a military repair shop. The T-72's, which are still considered to be of high technical level, were made in the early 1980's, and all went through major servicing in the early 1990's (the engines were replaced and the original factory specifications reset). Rubber parts that have become damaged during the long storage will have to replaced in most of them before delivery.

According to the plans, the tanks and their service equipment will arrive in Hungary on three special trains. After the August train another one will come in October, and then one in November, but the deliveries to Debrecen and Hodmezovasarhely [eastern Hungary] will definitely be finished before Christmas.

Hungary: Foreign Minister Examines Integration Issues

AU1208181396 Budapest TALLOZO in Hungarian 8 Aug 96 pp 1, 5-9

[Studio interview with Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by Ilona Kocsi, Andras Banki, Pal Eotvos, Ferenc Pallagi, and Peter Nemeth, broadcast on A3 cable television's Nap-Nyugta program on 31 July: "Kovacs: Hungary Will Be a Recipient"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *This time, Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs was the guest of the chief editors' forum. He was interviewed by Ilona Kocsi (VILAGGAZDASAG), Andras Banki (168 ORA), Pal Eotvos (NEPSZABADSAG), Ferenc Pallagi (VASARNAPI HIREK), and presenter Peter Nemeth.*

[Nemeth] At a forum, you said that we are at the beginning of tuning the population to integration. At the same time, [former Foreign Minister] Geza Jeszenszky said that society is sort of beginning to get frightened of integration. Of what are we afraid and why do we need to be tuned?

[Kovacs] As to what I said, it was a general statement which should be further expounded. By integration, we mean Euro-Atlantic integration, specifically admission to the European Union and NATO, and it makes sense to mention these separately because the two areas do not have the same type of social support. Public opinion polls and my personal experience—if they can be generalized—also show that a larger section of the public supports our membership in the European Union. I add that—this is also my experience—this tends to be based on emotions and superficial impressions, rather than on rational considerations....

[Nemeth] This means that they do not understand what it is all about.

[Kovacs] They do not exactly know what it is about but they think that the European Union is a good thing, it is enough to remember that Europe's most developed and richest countries—except for Switzerland and Norway—are members of it, so it is good to be part of it. The neighboring Austria, which we have always viewed as a kind of role model, has also become part of the Union. People have more reservations and counterarguments in connection with NATO, although even in this case, the data show that more among the questioned people are in favor than against, but very many people are uncertain. Therefore, I feel that tuning people to NATO, or perhaps it is more precise to say that making the population understand why it is important for Hungary to join NATO, is at more of an early stage than the arguments in favor of joining the European Union. The latter has been going on for more than a year, we have a concept called communications strategy which has very many means, including the EU supplements of major newspapers, Hungarian Television's various programs on the European Union, the European Days' series of events, and the preparation of teachers.

[Eotvos] Would the proportion of support increase if people really knew what sacrifices have to be made for membership?

[Kovacs] Why would they support it if they only knew the sacrifices, or perhaps we can say, commitments and they did not know about its advantages? I believe that it is correct and honest to equally inform the population about the advantages, opportunities, and rights concomitant with membership and about the requirements which also have to be met. For example, it has to be known that for the individual, this means freedom to travel, settle, take up employment, or be educated in the Union. This also has to be known, just as the fact that many things will have to be done better, in a more disciplined way. Our legal system and standards have to be harmonized with the Union. Let me mention a simple example which pinpoints the essence

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from one aspect: In the Union, Hungary will not be able to manufacture yogurt or sour cream in pots whose top cannot be torn off.

[Eotvos] The second part of my question is the following: All that you have said will be felt in the long term. However, at the time of admission, difficulties will continuously arise in economic and all other areas. To use a comparison: When a parent reregisters his child in a very strict and disciplined school from a weak school, he has to explain to the child that this will be better for him when he grows up, and I have seen few children who were happy about this. To come back to the Union, it will be very difficult to make people accept this and if they do then this will be under coercion.

[Kovacs] It is true that preparation comes first and economic stabilization is the first element of this. However, is it not in the country's interest to put the economy in order anyway, even without EU membership? It is often mentioned, and it is true that, in the recently joined countries—Sweden, Finland, and Austria—the enthusiasm decreased in the 18 months following admission. But why? These are net contributor countries. For them, membership in the Union has mainly meant budget burdens. Naturally, Hungary will be a recipient country rather than a net contributor, just like Portugal, Greece, and Ireland were at the time, in fact, they still are recipients. According to various calculations, Hungary can expect a net annual support of 2-3 billion ECU's from the Union after admission.

[Eotvos] The country will get support to be able to meet some of the admission requirements from this. So this money will not be donated to be used freely.

[Kovacs] Naturally, but it will certainly boost the economy and develop infrastructure. The European Union's accelerating effect on development can be proved quite easily. Of course, the population will have to be made to understand this, not simply accept it.

[Kocsi] How important are the various economic areas, for example, inflation for admission? It has been said that we must get down to single-digit inflation by the time of admission. According to the forecasts, inflation will not go below the double-digit level before the end of the century. This could be a hindering factor.

[Kovacs] Let us not forget that, in an ideal case, Hungary's membership will be discussed in 2000. This will be followed by an 18-month or even two-year period of parliamentary ratification while the 15 member states' parliaments approve Hungary's admission. I believe that single-digit inflation is achievable by the end of the century. The Hungarian economy's development tendencies are good but I am very well aware that the population does not yet feel any of this in practice. However, these steps had to be made first and these macroeconomic indicators have to be improved before a sounder economy can be built on the basis of this. According to the government forecasts, in 1997, the situation of the population's larger section will not get worse and, for some, it will improve. All in all, I believe that we can fulfill the major economic requirements of EU membership by 2000.

[Banki] Nevertheless, we should be careful with the hopes. Contrary to expectations, as has just been published by the statistical office, the GDP decreased by 1 percent in the first six months, instead of increasing by a few percentage points. Apart from stating that EU membership being generally advantageous, can it be predicted who will benefit and who will lose by the membership?

[Kovacs] We have to deal with these issues partly to convince various groups of society that they will gain by the membership, and partly because the Hungarian negotiating position will have to be adjusted accordingly.

[Banki] The answers to the EU questions have been completed. In my view, it is a very big mistake and negligence that the public knows very little about this. Can we finally expect some meaningful information about the answers?

[Kovacs] I do not think that not having published the answers is a big omission because we only handed over the answers last Friday [26 July] late afternoon and I do not think that any newspaper in Hungary would have published the approximately 4,000-page long text. Not mentioning the fact that some of the data are state secrets. Another point is that the European Union, the Brussels commission, handle these data confidentially. Our plans are the following—the Foreign Ministry's leaders just had a discussion on this on 29 July. The first one—and we have already done this—was to give the press the preface, which is actually a few pages long, a comprehensible summary of the Hungarian integration efforts. The other plan is for the various ministries to prepare summaries about the 23 chapters on professional issues. The questionnaire does not define requirements, rather, it gives an overall view of Hungarian economy, society, and all its important segments. If we inform people about the questionnaire, they will not find out what the European Union expects from us, but they will learn what we are like just now. Another plan is that we will set up a hotline, a live line for questions on integration. This can be launched sometime in September.

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[Pallagi] The big question is if certain key figures exist on the basis of which, if achieved, it can be decided if Hungary can be allowed into the Union. We can hear very many speculations about the timing of our entry to the Union but very few about its conditions.

[Kovacs] I think that the media and not only the government can be blamed—if it is indeed a mistake—for the large amount of speculations in connection with membership. At news conferences, this is usually the first question. For example, after a two-day NATO conference, the correspondent of a very well known daily which is read world wide, asked how much closer Hungary got to NATO membership after the conference. After some consideration, I said that by two days. I accept that it is much more important on what conditions we can join. Our task is to work on this in the coming period. What we can already now see is that talks will not be started before the end of 1997, or rather the beginning of 1998.

Hungary: Television Chairman Views Plans, Prospects

AU1208185796 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 10 Aug 96 p 7

[Interview with Istvan Petak, chairman of Hungarian Television, by Marianna Mucsanyi; place and date not given: "Television Should Be Loyal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *For a long time, it seemed that the contest for the position of chairman at Hungarian Television would not be successful the second time, either. The Board of Trustees of the Television's Public Foundation was unable to make a decision. Last week, the chairman was finally named—according to media experts, as a result of a political deal. Istvan Petak, former commissioner for Channel 2, believes that professional considerations, rather than politics, played the main role in his selection.*

[Mucsanyi] The government's latest decision to amend the media law would change the method of financing television and radio. The decision would violate the independence of the media, even according to government politicians.

[Petak] I do not know the intentions lying in the background of the decision. Undoubtedly, the decision that was accepted and has also been published in newspapers will fundamentally violate the implementation of the media law, the economic and financial stability of the institutions, and their independence, too.

[Mucsanyi] And it would also change the meaning of public service as laid down in the law.

[Petak] It would not change the media law, which was passed with a two-thirds majority, or the requirements of public service included in it. It is a different question that it would make the implementation impossible. By lifting the restriction on advertising time, it would again push national public service television toward commercial broadcasting, while it would put the private television stations that are about to be launched into a disadvantageous position. It is possible that only fiscal, rather than political goals were in the background. In my previous interviews, I called the possible consequences of the proposal tragic. Today, I would not use such a strong term because, as I have read in the newspapers, the proposals might be changed. In other words, the public debates of the past few days have convinced those who submitted the idea that they were wrong, and they realize that they have to back down. I hope that this is what will happen.

[Mucsanyi] You have also said that the meaning of public service is that the media must take the election results into consideration.

[Petak] This could not have been said this way. The notion of public service is much more complex than can be summed up in such a simple statement. You are probably referring to me saying, in reply to a question on what relations public service television and the government should have, that public service television has to be loyal to the government of the day. However, this cannot mean servileness. When we are loyal, we want to meet the needs of the viewers, rather than those of the government. Elections always indicate society's party political structure and party political sympathies at the time. Public service television has to meet society's needs, therefore, we have to take into consideration and recognize these party political power conditions in society. Naturally, public service television cannot be biased toward any party, it cannot show sympathy or dislike toward any of the political groups.

[Mucsanyi] What would this mean in practice? Will you count how many minutes the various parties are broadcast?

[Petak] Yes, this is also part of it. This is calculated, assessed, analyzed and, naturally, debated everywhere in the world. In addition to the number of appearances, it is also noted in what program environment a party appears on the screen. Disputes can only be responsibly decided on this basis. News bulletins and news programs are extremely sensitive, and this is fully understandable. The parties want to indicate their stance to their supporters and sympathizers. To do this, they need to be in public view. The written press can afford to be committed to an ideology but the public service media have to keep

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equal distance from all political groups. Television has an obligation to provide equal opportunities for all parties to appear in public.

[Mucsanyi] In addition to the news programs, parliamentary broadcasts are important for the politicians. Will these broadcasts be changed, or continue as before?

[Petak] Not everything will remain the same but we will continue to require giving as broad publicity to Parliament's work as possible. The broadcasts must be continued but, in addition to the debates in the "arena," we also have to report on the important work, namely the committee sessions, to help people understand parliamentary politics.

[Mucsanyi] How can this be reconciled with the often criticized too much politics in everything?

[Petak] The feeling of too much politics has developed in the viewers mostly in connection with the evening, or main programs. The actual proportions are probably distorted by the fact that non-current-affairs programs might also include more politics than necessary. I am not trying to say that politics and entertainment exclude each other. In my view, the omission of entertainment from among the public service tasks is one of the flaws of the media law. Through this, the media law might suggest that public service is equal to boredom and entertainment is equal to commercial programs. In Europe, public service mainly means information, entertainment, and education, and meeting the needs of various strata of society. Naturally, all this can be done on a low level, only considering viewing figures. This is below the quality requirements of public service. Employees of commercial channels always have to meet the owner's requirements. The viewers, society are the owners of public service television, because they directly finance the programs.

[Mucsanyi] It is not negligible, either, where these programs are made—at the station or in outside enterprises. The latter are said to be one of the strongest lobbies in today's television broadcasting. What relations will the public service channel and external producers have in the future?

[Petak] The role of external producers is often mystified although there is nothing mysterious about them. It is said that television is mostly about money and it would be a lie to claim that this will change in the future. However, it might be possible to change the emphases, we might be able to place them on the support of national values. The media law precisely defines what percentage of the programs have to be commissioned from outside companies. In most countries, public service television also acts as a backer in the media market through the external commissions. So external production will continue to be used in spite of the fact that internal program making is cheaper at the moment.

[Mucsanyi] Very many people in the television are disinterested in changes. Is there a business or political group backing you that will help you implement your ideas?

[Petak] There is not. Naturally, this does not mean that no one will help me. The Board of Trustees of the Hungarian Television Public Foundation elected me and, according to the statement of Chairman Andras Kovacs, regardless of the voting proportion, I enjoy the whole Board's support. The Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees was set up on the basis of party political consensus. I hope that, because of this and through this, I also enjoy the parties' support. It is also in our interest to form good relations with the National Radio and Television body. I should first have mentioned all those colleagues in the television—and I know that there are many—who recognize that it is vitally important to make changes. This is true even if the often mentioned streamlining has to happen.

[Mucsanyi] As far as I know, it was precisely Andras Kovacs who voted against you at your election. What was the reason?

[Petak] It was a secret ballot, I cannot properly answer your question. I know that before the Board's decision, the chairman said in public that he would welcome calling in a third round of applications.

[Mucsanyi] What kind of political deal resulted in your election as Television chairman?

[Petak] If such a deal had existed then it was in the Board or among the executive committee members.

[Mucsanyi] Will it be you who selects the deputy chairmen when the television is changed to a corporation, or is their appointment also part of the agreement?

[Petak] According to the law, the chairman alone has the right to define the number of deputy chairmen and to select them. However, the Board can veto this, with two-thirds majority. For this very reason, in the interest of successful cooperation, I have to find people whose appointment to deputy chairmen will not be a source of conflict between the board of trustees and the television's leadership, in a period when the changes are expected to create a tense atmosphere.

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B-H: Ganic Urges Croats To Name Date To Abolish Herzeg-Bosnia

AU0908144496 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 96 p 1

[Article by Daniel Omeragic: "'Herzeg-Bosnia' Is Dodging Deadline"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosniak and Croatian sides were not able to reach a political agreement on the date of Herzeg-Bosnia's abolition at the meeting of the Federation Forum on Thursday [8 August] in Sarajevo.

John Kornblum, U.S. assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs and special envoy to the Balkans, stated after the six-hour talks held in the building of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency that the Bosniak side had the most objections.

"Today it was not possible to reach agreement. We presented a plan for the full implementation of structures of the Federation, which also includes a statement on political commitments, deadlines, and an annex," he said, visibly aggravated.

According to him, work on the annex will continue and should be finished during the coming weekend.

"We hoped that today we would have a political statement ready, but as a sign of the really deep problems that are still burdening the Federation, it was not possible to agree on all the political commitments. I am deeply sorry about this," Kornblum said.

Ejup Ganic, Presidency member of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and vice president of the Federation, stated that the talks were generally concentrated on the moment when the unilaterally established parastate of Herzeg-Bosnia would be abolished.

"We were not given a precise date and we had expected that to happen," Ganic said.

He assessed that part of the talks, chaired by Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic, was productive, referring to the annex that is supposed to define concretely the ministries responsibilities.

"This part of the job is partly finished and we are ready to continue negotiations on Friday," Ganic said. "We appreciate the help extended to us by the U.S. Embassy to Bosnia-Herzegovina and its officials, but Herzeg-Bosnia must be abolished and there are no additional conditions in that regard. Everything that ought to be done has been done. There are the Government of the Federation and the central Republic Government. Each of them has its own work to do. We do not see any need for Herzeg-Bosnia to exist any further, because it calls in question the Dayton accord and peace in the region," Ganic said.

Prime Minister Muratovic stated that during the talks a document was proposed without a specific date for when Herzeg-Bosnia would cease to exist. The Croatian side, according to him, did not accept a clause saying that Herzeg-Bosnia will cease to exist legally and functionally as of that day and that all its ministries are to be integrated into the ministries of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, beginning on 1 September this year.

As Ganic pointed out, the best solution for the Croats, the Bosniaks, and all the others who see Bosnia as their fatherland is the document that he had submitted a few days earlier to the Croatian side in Zagreb, which says that Herzeg-Bosnia should cease to function.

"That has not happened yet, but we shall continue to work to that end," Ganic stated.

Leaving one of the rooms in which the talks were held on Thursday, Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation President Kresimir Zubak briefly answered a journalist's question on whether any progress has been achieved: "Ask Ganic and Muratovic. It is they who are creating the problems."

Meeting with journalists later, after the talks were finished, Muratovic said that this it was true.

"Of course we do not accept what they are proposing. They are proposing a clause to the document saying that all steps should be taken to integrate Herzeg-Bosnia into the Federation. We have been taking such steps for two and a half years now. I am not interested in such a formulation at all. I am only interested in the date when Herzeg-Bosnia will cease to function," Muratovic said.

Although the Croatian side announced recently in Neum that Herzeg-Bosnia will cease to exist, Ganic recalls, they failed to sign the decision on when they were supposed to do this.

"We are still cooperating with the international community, and are endeavoring to maintain the Dayton agreement and peace in the region. We are doing everything that we can. The Federation is functioning wherever the legal authorities are in power," he said.

According to Ganic, it is very important to reach an accord with the Croatian people, because that accord has a future. The majority of the Croatian people (the citizens of Dalmatia, Zagreb, Istria, Slavonia and Zagorje) are for an agreement, he pointed out.

"I hope that, in time and given the assistance of the international community, we shall also succeed in

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persuading this group to work in the interest of both states and both peoples, which is the maintenance of peace in the region. That is our goal," Ganic said.

For the next session he announced a meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, at which the strengthening of the Federation is to be discussed.

The Forum of the Federation was attended by Jadranko Prlic, foreign minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Croatia, and Darinko Bago, Croatian ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

B-H: Zubak Rejects Statement by Muratovic, Ganic on Forum

LD0908163696 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 9 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The office of Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, has issued a public statement in connection with a public statement made by Dr. Hasan Muratovic, prime minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Ejup Ganic, vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and member of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, on yesterday's [8 August] session of the Federation [Muslim-Croat] Forum.

The statement says that the Ganic and Muratovic statement does not reflect the course and content of the discussions at that meeting; that they have again, in a one-sided way, shifted coresponsibility for failure to accept the final document to the Croat side; and that their allegations are completely untrue.

Both sides, in the presence of [U.S. envoy] John Kornblum and his colleagues Carl Bildt [international coordinator for civilian affairs in Bosnia] and Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic, agreed on a general document which sets out the duties in principle of the two sides in connection with the cessation of the functioning of some structures of authority in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the [self-styled] Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, the statement says, adding: After the departure of the aforementioned gentlemen, Muratovic denied everything which had been agreed and, in this way, personally brought his influence to bear on the result of yesterday's session of the Federation Forum.

The Croat side insists on and is prepared to carry out a transfer of powers from the Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation if the partner simultaneously does the same, transferring the competencies of the republican bodies to the federal bodies as envisaged by the Dayton agreement references to the functioning of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, signed by both [Bosnian President] Alija Izetbegovic and [then Bosnian Prime Minister] Haris Silajdzic.

The statement by Zubak's office says toward the end of the talks that the Muslim-Bosniak side demanded that the obligation of the unilateral dissolution of the Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia be entered into the document, explaining this by its [Muslim-Bosniak side] political needs. As these goals run contrary to the Dayton agreement on the functioning of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, the demands by the Muslim-Bosniak side could not be met.

President Zubak informed the participants at yesterday's Federation Forum, the statement says, on the latest attacks on the Croats and their places of worship by the remaining groups of mujahidin.

B-H: Muratovic Says Herzeg-Bosnia Will 'Bury' Dayton

AU0908181396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The problems in Mostar are making the situation extremely difficult over the entire Federation. The [word indistinct] meetings, which are supposed to find solutions, and ultimately all the many meetings, such as yesterday's Federation Forum meeting, have produced no visible results.

That is how Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic commented on the situation today.

It seems to me that Kornblum has still not understood what this is all about. Herzeg-Bosnia is a parastate creation led by extreme nationalists and war profiteers. They are a cancer on the Federation and on the Dayton agreement. The Dayton agreement will fail unless this cancer is immediately removed, Prime Minister Muratovic said.

He said that Herzeg-Bosnia, if it survives until the elections, will definitely bury the Dayton agreement. Mr. Zubak, who unfortunately represents Herzeg-Bosnia in negotiations though he is the president of the Federation, is performing very cheap political tricks. He distracts Kornblum with functions that have allegedly not been transferred to the Federation—and the fact is that the Federation government has 15 ministries that have taken over the functions of the earlier unified government—while Herzeg-Bosnia is still functioning in the same setup as during the war. It is led by the very same people, Muratovic stressed. Their main aim, apart from acquiring wealth, is to sabotage the Dayton agreement and thus create a new political crisis that will give them a status quo. Any politician that does not see that must be blind, Muratovic said.

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B-H: Federation President Explains Obstacles to Agreement

LD0908213296 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 9 Aug 96

[Interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation President Kresimir Zubak by an unidentified correspondent—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] We have a direct link with the studio in Siroki Brijeg [west of Mostar], with the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, Kresimir Zubak. Good evening.

[Zubak] Good evening.

[Correspondent] Your office issued a statement today pointing out that yesterday's session of the Federation Forum did not produce the expected results because of the obstruction by the Bosniak [Muslim] side and that [Federal Vice President] Ejup Ganic and [Bosnian Prime Minister] Hasan Muratovic incorrectly informed the public about the course of the negotiations. Could you comment on this?

[Zubak] Toward the end of the talks we realized that our political partners did not care so much about defining a plan on the basis of which we could have organized the functioning of the federation by 14 September. Their primary goal was to appear before the public with a statement on the dissolution of all the power structures of the [self-styled] Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia.

After all, this is what they demanded from me, explaining it as their political need. My associates and I could not accept this because we have been discussing this for more than two years now, saying that this is a process which demands that both sides transfer appropriate responsibilities from the Republic and Herzeg-Bosnian institutions to the Federation. We have done our bit and we are ready now, but our partner is not prepared to do the same.

We cannot make any concessions now to satisfy their political needs so that they could tell the public: We have dissolved Herzeg-Bosnia.

[Correspondent] Mr. Zubak, what next?

[Zubak] Mr. Kornblum made a public statement yesterday which was very objective. He said that he was very sorry that agreement was not reached, that both sides needed to make additional efforts, and that this was primarily an obligation for the Bosniak-Muslim side. He said he hoped that we would reach an agreement before our next meeting, which is expected in Geneva on 14 August, and that we would make the agreement public then. I sincerely hope that we shall reach agreement. We are completely open to agreement. We feel there are no political obstacles on our part. We reached the political decision on the transformation of the powers of Herzeg-Bosnia and their transfer to the Federation a long time ago.

However, the problem is with the Bosniak-Muslim side because this requires them to make radical changes—they should dissolve a great number of the existing republican institutions and fire a considerable number of people working in these institutions.

[Presenter] Mr. Zubak, thank you for being our guest.

[Zubak] Thank you.

B-H: Ganic Warns 'Dualism of Authorities' Threatens Accord

LD1008205996 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 10 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Today's meeting between Federation Vice President Ejup Ganic and U.S. arbiter Roberts Owen seems to be completing the circle of this week's discussions about the functioning of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. They discussed the disputed deadlines and how to transfer powers to the federal authorities at the meeting. Ejup Ganic gave the following statement afterward:

[Begin Ganic recording] We want the federal government to be the only government on the territory of the federation. The central government has all the powers throughout the territory, but there cannot be another government in addition to the federal government on the territory of the federation, as is the case now with Herzeg-Bosnia.

The central government has powers in keeping with the Dayton agreement, it represents the state and functions like any government of an independent and sovereign state.

But the federal government has certain powers, from local administration to the economy, health care, education, and so on. At present the federal government is not functioning fully on the whole of the federal territory and the whole problem lies in how to achieve this. We cannot stand this dualism of authorities any more. It has completely jeopardized the Dayton agreement. We will hold meetings, we will pay visits, but we really have to resolve this. Otherwise, the Dayton agreement is truly in danger, which is to say peace in the region and everything else. [end recording]

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B-H: Ganic, NATO's Solana Comment on Talks in Sarajevo

AU1208145196 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] We want even stronger IFOR support for the elections to avoid a situation in which the elections confirm the results of ethnic cleansing, said Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina and vice president of the Federation, after meeting with NATO Secretary General Javier Solana and General Joulwan, NATO's supreme commander for Europe. Ganic said that in some parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, there are some visible signs that refugees are being forced to vote in the municipalities where they currently live in order to finalize ethnic cleansing. This could undermine the process of local elections, in which case they would not be successful. That is why we encourage all refugees to return to their homes and to vote in their own municipalities, Ganic said.

He stressed that IFOR has done a lot during its mandate in Bosnia-Herzegovina, adding that the Bosnian authorities expect Bosnia-Herzegovina to be admitted to the Partnership for Peace program before NATO leaves. This would create conditions for a lasting peace. Ganic said they also discussed the current situation in the Federation and that he had told his collocutors that Herzeg-Bosnia has still not been abolished, even though this had been agreed upon during earlier talks between the federal partners. In order to overcome this situation, we have proposed a plan for the unconditional return of all Croat refugees to all parts of the Federation. We will ask IFOR and other international organizations to help in this project, Ganic said. The project to return refugees to Federation territories according to the one-for-one principle has not produced the expected results. This proposal will also be discussed with leaders of the Serb community in order to enable the refugees to return to their homes throughout the country.

Javier Solana stressed that IFOR will meet all the obligations it has undertaken with its mandate in Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to create conditions for elections in September and joint institutions after the elections. I would like to say to the political leaders of Bosnia-Herzegovina that the Dayton agreement must be implemented fully. IFOR will not tolerate any violation of the Dayton agreement. I have said this clearly here in Sarajevo and will repeat it when I meet Federation President Kresimir Zubak and the Serb leaders in Pale, Solana said. His message to the residents of Sarajevo was that they have a brilliant chance to build a new country after the elections and to set up new institutions to rebuild the country's economy.

Responding to a reporter's question on what IFOR's support will be for the upcoming elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Solana said the prime task of the peace forces is to ensure safe conditions for unhindered elections. Asked whether he will discuss the Han Pijesak incident—when IFOR was prevented from inspecting an arms warehouse of the Serb Army—with Serb leaders in Pale later today, Solana said: I will tell them clearly that we will not accept any violation of the Dayton agreement and that IFOR will respond strongly to every attempt to violate the peace agreement.

B-H: Foreign Ministry Demands Action To Ensure Fair Elections

LD1208174396 Sarajevo BH PRESS in Serbo-Croatian 1532 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 12 Aug (BH PRESS)—In line with the stances adopted at a meeting of the heads of Bosnia-Herzegovina's diplomatic and consular missions, held in Sarajevo on 9 and 10 August, a working group of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Ministry has sent to the Contact Group countries' ambassadors to Bosnia a Nonpaper [preceding word in English] on problems and irregularities which arose during the registration of Bosnia-Herzegovina voters in Bosnia and abroad.

The nonpaper, that is, the Foreign Ministry's stance, which has been given to the ambassadors of the Contact Group countries, says that, despite the fact that the Dayton agreement's key provisions have not been implemented and that there is no freedom of movement and freedom of media, refugees cannot return, and war criminals have not been removed, Bosnia-Herzegovina's state authorities have accepted the holding of the September elections.

"Starting from the fact that, by 11 August, only 620,000 voters of the 1,200,000 we estimate to be abroad have been registered, we can establish that the registration of voters has not been successful.

"In view of the upcoming Contact Group meeting in London, the Foreign Ministry demands that the Contact Group members intervene urgently, and points to the following problems and irregularities in the process of registering Bosnia-Herzegovina voters abroad.

"1. Considering a series of shortcomings in the process of registering the voters, organized by the OSCE, or rather, the temporary electoral commission, the Foreign Ministry estimates that around 50 percent of voters abroad will not be able to exercise their civic right to vote in the upcoming elections.

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"2. The OSCE has made it completely possible for voters to vote where they are currently living, and not where they lived at the time of the 1991 census, which contravenes Article 4, Annex 3, of the Paris/Dayton agreement. The OSCE thus practically confirms the consequences of the genocide and the ethnic cleansing, and legalizes the situation thus created. This is why we ask you, as guarantors of the implementation of the Paris/Dayton agreement, to ensure that the temporary electoral commission annuls these commitments and acts strictly in line with Article 4, Annex 3, of the Paris/Dayton agreement.

"3. The registration of refugees abroad, as well as in Bosnia-Herzegovina, has shown that many voters who were not included in the 1991 census have been entered in the temporary voters' lists. On the other hand, many voters who were registered by the 1991 census have not been registered and are not on the temporary voters' lists. We demand that the registration be brought in line with the 1991 census.

"4. We insist that the Contact Group should use its influence and demand that Ifor and the International Police Task Force ensure complete freedom of movement and protection throughout the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"5. Bearing in mind the aforementioned stated facts, we demand that the Contact Group submit a request to the temporary electoral commission and the OSCE to set a deadline which will make it possible for the OSCE to carry out an accurate and complete registration in line with the 1991 census and Article 4, Annex 3, of the Paris/Dayton agreement.

"Bosnia-Herzegovina's Government, Presidency, and Assembly will hold a special session at the Foreign Ministry's request and will adopt a stance on all these negative facts."

B-H: Silajdzic, Rehn Agree Voter Registration Violates Dayton

AU0908145096 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The registration of voters with Application Form No. 2 legalizes the results of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Haris Silajdzic, chairman of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, assessed during today's talks with Elizabeth Rehn, special UN envoy for human rights.

Silajdzic informed Mrs. Rehn that four months ago he had written to the OSCE, asking for an explanation as to what the exceptions to this might be—5.8 or 10 percent—but had never got a reply. [sentence as received] Thanks to the election engineering the exception has become the rule, so, in accordance with Application Form No. 2, some 300,000 people have obtained the right to vote in their new place of residence, which legalizes ethnic cleansing even before the elections. Silajdzic stressed that the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina was currently involved in studying possible measures and the public would be informed about these soon.

Mrs. Rehn agreed with Silajdzic that this was a very complex and difficult situation, that the figures were unexpected, and that the entire issue was in contradiction to the spirit and letter of the Dayton agreement.

B-H: Article Fears Ethnic 'Maneuvers' Will Mar Elections

AU1008191196 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 96 p 5

[Article by Mirjana Kasapovic: "Alija Izetbegovic's Infernal Electoral Plan Against the Croats: Muslims Are Populating Western Herzegovina!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The central idea of the General Draft Agreement U.S. diplomats presented to the leaders of the warring parties in November 1995 in Dayton was that the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina must begin with free national elections.

That idea was both symbolic and based on political experience.

Experience has shown that free elections must be the first step in the "reconstruction" of states that have been dissolved in a conflict or a civil war—as happened in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also in Lebanon, Vietnam, Cambodia, and elsewhere—as well as in the "reconstruction" of democracies that have suffered decades of totalitarian or autocratic regimes of the kind that were in place in Eastern Europe.

The symbolic value of the idea is reflected in the fact that the first free elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, held in the fall of 1990, marked the beginning of the real dissolution of the state, and the second elections, to be held six years later, will mark the beginning of its reintegration.

However, the drafters of the peace agreement did not sweat over the organization of the elections. Their primary interest was to see that the elections were held nine months after the agreement was signed—in September 1996 at the latest. The elections will really be held in September as the Americans wished.

Disputed Registration Rules

Guidelines were given about freedom of movement, speech, political activities, and secret, noncoerced vot-

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ing. The rest of the work was left to the OSCE and its mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The task turned out to be too difficult for that organization—but it would have been too difficult for anyone else, too.

The OSCE mission soon formed the Provisional Electoral Committee, the supreme international authority in the elections. It was supposed to be obeyed by all participants in the elections. However, its actions brought down an avalanche of protests from every side.

Most of the protests referred to the registration rules, which were published in the initial electoral document in April 1996. The political range and possibly disastrous consequences have recently become fully visible. The Bosnian Croat side has done most to warn the world about those—and they were right—but their warnings have not been sufficiently systematic, organized, or intelligible.

What is it all about?

Voter registration is the most difficult, delicate part of the preparations for the parliamentary elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to authorized estimates, the country had no more than 3 million inhabitants before the war. About 1.5 million were displaced or found temporary residences as refugees in 30 countries. Most of them went to Germany, Sweden, Croatia, and Yugoslavia.

Moreover, Bosnia-Herzegovina suffered tremendous ethnic migrations, both voluntary and coercive. Members of ethnic communities were driven away or moved of their own accord into the regions controlled by their ethnic armed forces and civilian authorities. By the beginning of 1996, according to estimates, less than half of the original population remained in their domiciles controlled by ethnic armies. The peace agreement did not stop the internal waves of ethnic migration. Actually, the migrations continue to the present day.

Ethnic-Political Maneuvers

Amid the chaos, legal, political, and practical methods were needed to enable all displaced persons to vote in the upcoming elections. The document specified that every citizen had the right to vote in his 1991 place of residence. However, it has been a while since Bosnia-Herzegovina lived according to principles.

Therefore, the Provisional Electoral Committee decided to grant citizens the right to vote by absentee ballot. The principle is fair again, and there can be no objections to that kind of ballot under these circumstances. However, the problems arose from the application of the absentee ballot system. The right was granted to three groups of citizens.

The first group consists of Bosnian citizens who changed their place of residence in the period between the 1991 census and 6 April 1992 and those who have been registered in their new places of residence after 6 April 1992. The 1991 census was the basis of the provisional list of voters. Apparently, the war is considered to have begun on 6 April 1992, the day that used to be celebrated in Sarajevo as the anniversary of liberation from fascism.

The first group is apparently considered to have changed their places of residence "in peace" and of their own accord. However, it is a fact that a great number of those people participated in the "preventive" migrations of the Serbs—from Sarajevo to Pale, for instance—to evade the "difficulties" that only they knew their former neighbors would soon face.

The second group consists of refugees and other displaced persons who are now living in other towns and countries. The document interpreted the votes they will cast as a sign of their will to return to their country. However, the mere act of casting their votes will not deprive them of the status of refugees nor impose the measures of coercive mass repatriation. In principle, that group is not a problem.

Finally, the right to vote by absentee ballot was given to the citizens who were forced to change their place of residence after 6 April 1992 and who are now living—and want to remain—in other places in Bosnia-Herzegovina. That regulation is a political bomb for the entire country, especially for the Federation. It leaves room for the transitional electoral maneuvers, but also for the long-term ethnic and political maneuvers that would especially affect the Croats.

Primarily, we must bear in mind that the huge majority of displaced persons in the Federation are Muslims whom the Serbs drove out of what is now the Serb Republic. Most of them are displaced persons from towns in eastern Bosnia (Srebrenica, Zepa, Visegrad, Foca, etc.), where Muslims made up a majority of the population before the war. They are not even considering going back to their homes because they do not want to live under Serb authorities. Even if they did, the Serbs would find a way to stop them. They have most probably "changed their places of residence" for good.

A huge majority of those displaced persons poured into the Federation, especially into central Bosnia, where there were ferocious Croat-Muslim hostilities and where the political situation is utterly unstable. According to the sanctioned electoral rules, they have the right to vote for the authorities in the municipalities and cantons where they live now and where they are likely to stay.

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What Is State-Creating Surveillance?

In effect, it means that people from Srebrenica or Foca can vote in the municipal elections in Vitez or Bugojno or in the "mixed" cantons in Central Bosnia.

The new population can introduce radical changes into the political and ethnic relations. For instance, they can bring an overwhelming victory to the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] in Bugojno, or endanger the power of the Croatian Democratic Union in Vitez. We do not have to explain the disastrous consequences of such electoral victories. They would not be interpreted as a victory of one political party over the other but as a fateful defeat of Croats by Muslims. Therefore, no authority in this world could ever make the Croats accept such an outcome, regardless of its formal ratification.

Furthermore, there are indications that the Muslim authorities in Sarajevo are planning to use those electoral rules for long-term ethnic and political maneuvers. A number of Muslim "voters" seem to be systematically sent to the regions where the majority of the population used to be Croat. Unusually great numbers of Muslims have registered to vote in Neum, Capljina, Stolac, Drvar, and elsewhere.

It does not take much imagination to picture the aftermath of, for instance, a sweeping victory of the SDA in Neum. It would be the final failure of both the elections and the entire plan for the reconstruction of the state.

It is also an indication of serious changes in the political strategy of the leading Muslim party. Not only has the idea of the Muslims as the "basic" nation become too strong, but the opinion that the Muslims are the only state-creating nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina has caught on. The logical conclusion to which those premises lead is that a territorial presence by the Muslims is the only guarantee that a certain region will be and will remain a part of the Bosnian state.

If that concept prevails and its implementation begins—openly or covertly—Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federation are doomed.

It would really be tragic to see the Bosnian Muslims, after everything they have endureed, infected by the Serbian "state-creating" syndrome. We have seen the outcome of that.

B-H: Bosniaks Allege Lack of Freedom of Movement in Stolac

AU1208181596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Fatima Leho, governor of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton, and Mehmet Dizdar, head of the Stolac Municipal (?Assembly), have sent an open letter to Kresimir Zubak and Ejup Ganic, president and vice president of the Federation respectively. The letter says, among other things, the following:

All attempts to have at least one Bosniak return to Stolac have failed. Gentlemen, can you secure the freedom of movement for the Bosniaks in Stolac, at least to the extent to which (?it exists) in Bugojno? According to the information on the registration of the voters, several thousand [words indistinct] have registered themselves in Stolac from other municipalities. Does this not show the real intentions of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] and [words indistinct]. Mr. President, do you know that (?by preventing) the Bosniaks from returning to Stolac and other municipalities, you are also resettling the Croats from Bosnia, the governor of the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton and the president of Stolac Municipality said in the open letter to the president and the vice president of the Federation.

B-H: Bosnian Croats Accuse Muslims of More Provocations

LD1008185896 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 10 Aug 96

[Dispatch from Central Bosnia by Zvonimir Cilic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Representatives of the international community often cite Travnik as a positive example of the implementation of the Dayton agreement pilot program on the return of expelled residents, and as a positive example of the kickstart of the federation itself. But facts speak to the contrary. This is evident from the letter that the municipal leadership of Travnik with the headquarters in Nova Bila sent today to Federation President Kresimir Zubak, High Representative Carl Bildt, his deputy Michael Steiner, Jozo Leotar, the deputy federal minister of the interior, Darinko Baga, the ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and regional OSCE and IPTF [International Police Task Force] offices Vitez and Travnik.

The letter says that this is one more in the series of reminders to the relevant players in the federation and international community of the constant and unprovoked threats, maltreatment, and harassment of a small number of Croats remaining in Travnik, the looting and destruction of their church buildings.

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The letter then goes on to list several serious incidents that took place in the last few days. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Those were reports from our correspondents in Zepce and Vitez on serious and major problems that the federal partners are inflicting upon the Croats.

B-H: Croats Issue Statement on Zepce Situation

LD1008175296 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 10 Aug 96

[Dispatch from Zepce by Branka Janko]

[FBIS Translated Text] The attempt to force Croats from Zepce to abandon their centuries-old regions which, in the last two aggressions against the Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina were defended with the blood of the best Croat sons, took place again this afternoon when the major Zenica-Doboj road was blocked. For four hours Muslim-Bosniaks allowed neither entry to Zepce nor the exit from the town. As a result of this event, one of many pressures on Croats from Zepce, the municipality presidency of Zepce in its expanded composition held an ad hoc session today. After the session the following statement was issued:

Today, on 10 August, the major M17 road was blocked from two directions, Zenica and Maglaj, at the entrance to Zepce, from 1200 to 1600. This was done by the Muslims-Bosniaks, for reasons unknown to us.

In the village of Zeleca a vehicle belonging to the Zepce health center transporting a patient for dialysis was confiscated, the Zepce municipality presidency said, and added that this was one more in the series of organized pressures against the Croats from Zepce region before the September elections.

In connection with today's event, the municipality presidency appealed to the residents of Zepce to keep their calm and dignity.

B-H: Mostar Council Members Brief Press on Differences

AU1208162596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Aug 96

[Report by Mirsad Behran from Mostar]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hamdija Jahic, president of the Mostar City Council, and Mile Puljic, head of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] City Committee, met today in the EU mission in Mostar in the presence of EU representatives. After the talks, which were held behind closed doors, Jahic and Puljic addressed the journalists with separate statements. Mirsad Behram reports.

[Behram] The first to address the media was Mile Puljic, head of the HDZ's City Committee. He said that the Croat side considers the legality of the first session of the City Council to be contentious. Let us recall: The session of the Mostar's City Council was held on 23 July without the HDZ officials, who did not recognize the results of the local elections and thus did not attend the session. According to Mile Puljic, the Croat side also objects to the agenda of the City Council convened by its President Jahic. The HDZ's view is that this session should be convened by the oldest member of the council. Thus, the party practically does not recognize Jahic as president of the City Council.

Hamdija Jahic, president of the City Council, said that today's meeting was held at the request of the Croat side and that they did not agree to hold the next session on Wednesday. He confirmed the objections raised by the Croat side concerning the agenda, stressing that the EU considers the agenda of the session already set by the agreement that has been signed recently. Jahic also said that the EU takes the view that the first session of the City Council is legal, which, according to him, has been confirmed at higher levels.

Regarding the meeting scheduled for tomorrow, Hamdija Jahic, president of the City Council of Mostar, said that this will be a meeting of parties and not the meeting of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] and the HDZ representatives.

Asked whether the City Council will meet on Wednesday, as announced, when it is not certain that the HDZ representatives will come despite all the agreements, Jahic said that the session of the City Council will be held in any case.

B-H: Croats Dispute Legality of Mostar Council Session

LD1208175096 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A session of the Mostar City Council is to be held on 14 August. Judging by the behavior of our partners and the EU representatives, instead of the session we may again have chaos. Ivan Kristic has interviewed Mile Puljic, chairman of the Mostar Committee of the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ], about the preparations for the City Council session.

[Begin recording] [Krstic] Mr. Puljic, how are the preparations for the scheduled session of the Mostar City Council proceeding? Have you been in contact with our partners?

[Puljic] At 1000 this morning we held a meeting with representatives of the Party of Democratic Action

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[SDA], along with the new ombudsman, and Sir Martin Garrod, the special EU envoy, in attendance.

As you know, the SDA has unilaterally prepared an agenda, without any prior consultations with the Croat side, which the EU administration has endorsed. I then proposed a meeting for 1000 today, at which an agreement on some issues should have been reached.

As you know, they did not consult us about the time and the agenda for the meeting. In addition, there is a contentious issue--the other side and the EU administration consider the first so-called session of the City Council lawful. Our opinion is that the session was unlawful. We did not reach any agreement today. We only agreed to meet again at 0300 [as heard] tomorrow.

Special Envoy Sir Martin Garrod used some offensive words and threats. I told him to forget about his colonial complex and threats. One should bear in mind that he is not the administrator, he is only a special envoy. Nobody can intimidate us here. Our sole demand is that the law should be respected—that the parties should reach an agreement on the agenda, on candidates, that the council session should be prepared in detail.

I repeated that we are not in favor of obstruction, but are in favor of preparing the City Council sessions properly, in order to avoid chaos. I proposed that the agenda should be made up of two points: the verification of deputies' mandates and the election of a mayor, deputy mayor, president of the City Council, and his deputy.

By doing this we would completely fulfill the agreement reached on 6 August. The other side, the Muslim side, firmly stands by its demands. The same goes for the EU Administration. We shall see what happens tomorrow.

[Kristic] If negotiating again turns out to be futile, we will again have chaos on 14 August, instead of the City Council holding a democratic session.

[Puljic] The EU Administration is in a great hurry. They pay too much attention to legal formalities. By doing so they are only producing a countereffect. The EU lays great store by the session being held on 14 August when it should coincide with a session in Geneva. Special Envoy Sir Martin Garrod says that the session must be held on 14 August. My reply is that it could indeed be held then, but the question arises as to how it would work. I again said it should be postponed by several days, to give us time to carry out detailed preparations regarding the candidates and the agenda. We are in favor of the agreement reached on 6 August being fully observed. They have already violated it. [end recording]

B-H: Mostar Croats Request New Elections

LD1308122596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1146 GMT 13 Aug 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 13 (TANJUG)—The president of the Mostar committee of the Croatian Democratic Union party (HDZ) Mile Puljic has rejected the decision of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) that the elections held in the ethnically divided town last June 30 should be considered part of the overall election process.

In a letter to the president of the interim electoral commission, OSCE mission head Robert Frowick, Puljic rejected the commission's decision that municipal elections should not be held again in Mostar next September 14 like in other towns in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Citing the transitional status of Mostar and the general peace agreement, Puljic concluded that the decision made no legal sense and was contrary to the Dayton agreement.

Unlike the Croats, Muslims in Mostar do not request new elections in September as they are satisfied with their slight victory of June 30.

The ruling political parties in Mostar-Croat HDZ and Muslim Democratic Action Party (SDA)-did not reach agreement Monday on the holding, the date or the agenda of the first joint town council session.

The Croats consider as illegal the first town council session held on July 23 which was not attended by Croat representatives and which elected Muslim Hamdija Jahic as president.

The 16 Croat representatives elected on June 30 said they would boycott the forthcoming session too unless it is convened by the oldest representative Milan Jovicic.

The Muslims have rejected the Croat request that the session be postponed for Monday, August 19, and tension in the divided town is growing once again.

B-H: Mostar Accord Seen as 'Compromise' To Save Sep Elections

AU1308092296 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Aug 96 p 5

[Article by Veso Vegar: "A Compromise To Save the September Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After multiple postponements of the deadline, the long and exhausting negotiations on the agreement of the Croat and Muslim authorities

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in Mostar finally came to a successful end. Everyone feels relieved: Both the EU, who has already begun the process of "retreating," and the negotiators on the two sides. The Croat and Muslims representatives expressed their desire for the EU to stay in Mostar for another six months, as they had already requested in Rome. The EU had its own reasons to stay in Mostar: Having come so close to the goal specified in the Memorandum of Understanding, the EU did not want to withdraw and run the risk of having things go back to where they started. That would be another failure and a final confirmation that Europe is unable to help solve the crisis—first in Croatia, and later in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Whenever an agreement is signed, people start analyzing the gains and losses of each side in the agreement. The best way to do that is to compare the initial standpoints of each individual negotiator with the final results. In this case, we must also include the mediator, the EU, who was very interested in the outcome of the negotiations.

First, let us analyze the facts that were not disputed. The continued presence of the EU in Mostar, in the form of a mandate named "Joint Action," was not disputed. However, what was disputed was the constitution of the Town Council based on the electoral results, to which the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] had objected. Their objections were justified, too. Should the Town Council be constituted according to electoral results that were not given by the Town Electoral Board but decreed by the former administrator Ricardo Perez Casado? Or should they all wait for the decision by the Federal Supreme Court regarding the HDZ's complaint about the ombudsman Konstantin Zepos' annulment of the decision of the Town Electoral Board, which was to annul the elections in Bonn? That was the main problem. The Muslim side insisted on an unconditional verification of the electoral results, so that the Town Council could function normally. On the other hand, the HDZ requested that the constituent session of the Town Council be held, and that no other session be held before the decision of the Supreme Court was made. EU representatives, as well as other representatives of the international community, stated that the Town Council had to be constituted according to the electoral results, but they did not want to discuss whether the results were lawful. The agreement was a compromise, as usual. The Town Council was constituted according to the electoral results. The next session will be held within this month, and a mayor (a Croat) and a deputy mayor (a Muslim) will be appointed. However, "we have also taken into consideration the objections of the HDZ about the ombudsman's decision, as well as the HDZ's complaint to the Federal Supreme Court. The council will hold the next session after the Court has made its decision according to Article 3." Article 3 said: "We expect the Court to make an urgent decision on this matter in the term specified in Article 24 of the Provisional Statute of the Town of Mostar." The mentioned term is actually a term of 60 days, and the Town Council is supposed to hold at least one session during that period of time. However, the expression "we expect" is political not legal terminology, which opens up endless possibilities for interpretation; the negotiators, unable to command the court, used that expression as their only escape.

The next session of the Town Council will probably be held in ten days, and the mayor and his deputy will be appointed. The date of the second session remains unknown—it will depend primarily on the Federal Constitutional Court. Regardless of all that, this agreement opened the door to the establishment of the Dayton order in the town of Mostar, which means that six municipalities will be formed: Three with the Croat majority and three with the Muslim majority. That was forgotten in the fuss that went on in the Town Council.

This agreement has yet another important message. Many people were afraid that the national elections slated for September might be endangered if the Mostar authorities were not established according to the electoral results, and they were right. On the other hand, verifying electoral results despite apparent irregularities has implications of its own. This compromise, or this agreement, has warned everybody—or we believe so, at least—that staged elections will not be easy to verify.

[Box, p 5]

Safet Orucevic Under House Arrest?!

Safet Orucevic was head of the Muslim negotiating team, and he is still the mayor of eastern Mostar. Before the negotiations were over, well-informed sources leaked the information that Safet Orucevic was under house arrest. Although he was under house arrest, as our sources informed us, the Muslim leadership considered him to be their best negotiator, and his presence in public made sure that his legal problems remained out of public view. However, we did not notice any special guards around Orucevic on his way in and out of the Ero Hotel, which was where the negotiations were taking place.

According to the same sources, he is under house arrest because he allegedly misappropriated large sums of money in 1993 and 1994, during the conflict between the Croats and the Muslims, when he purchased weapons from the Velez Serbs. Our sources claimed that the information was reliable, but we did not think it would be fair to publish it before the negotiations ended.

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After the agreement was signed, we asked Safet Orucevic whether our information was true. He denied it: "That is nonsense!" He also mentioned certain Croatian weeklies and politicians whose names, for obvious reasons, we would not like to publish.

B-H: Spanish General Finds Improvement in Mostar Situation

BR1208142196 Madrid EL MUNDO in Spanish 10 Aug 96 p 12

[FBIS Translated Text] "NATO will have to decide on the right time to leave the area, because once the situation takes a positive turn, people could interpret our presence as an occupation force," according to General Luis Carvajal, leader of the Spanish brigade in Bosnia.

In statements made to the REVISTA ESPANOLA DE DEFENSA, an official organ of the department headed by Defense Minister Eduardo Serra, Gen. Carvajal highlighted the work done by the Spaniards on 30 June, when they had to oversee the normal functioning of the municipal elections held in Mostar on that date, the results of which were accepted—"in extremis" and not without a great deal of international pressure—by the Croatian community.

"Whereas in a fully democratic country the Army works to protect sensitive strategic points, in Mostar the personnel have been deployed in the heart of the city. We also had to plan for a possible escalation of violence in which we would have had to intervene without being able to count on police support," Carvajal said.

There is still tension in Mostar between the Croatian and Bosnian Muslim communities, even though the armed confrontation between them ended two years ago.

However, there is still the underlying threat that the city will remain divided because of the authorities' inability—if not the outright refusal—on either side to set up joint municipal institutions.

Even so, Gen. Carvajal said the situation has visibly improved. "The situation has changed from running around Mostar avoiding shots and grenades to open stores, daily walks, bathing in the Neretva river, and discotheques open on the weekends."

B-H: Plavsic Insists on Independent Serb Republic

AU1208194496 Bijeljina PANORAMA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul-5 Aug 96 p 9

[Unattributetd interview with Biljana Plavsic, acting president of the Serb Republic and Serb Democratic Party, SDS, candidate for that position; place and date not given: "If We Are Wise, Clever, and Courageous, We Will Succeed in Retaining the Serb Republic as a State"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [PANORAMA] It is heard more and more often from particular international circles that the Dayton agreement and its implementation have reached a kind of crisis. Seen from that perspective, what is your opinion on the seven months of the Dayton agreement implementation?

[Plavsic] The biggest advantage of the Dayton agreement is that it has brought peace. There is really no alternative to peace, and it is only now that we have realized how much each of us needed peace. There is not such a problem that cannot be solved through a conflict of opinions and with diplomatic means. It has to be admitted, however, that a heavy struggle is awaiting us in the diplomatic field if we want to retain what the Dayton agreement has granted us: A significant degree of independence for the Serb Republic. It will be difficult to retain the achieved degree of independence, but if we are wise and clever, if we are courageous and persistent, we will succeed.

[PANORAMA] With regard to the existing joint bodies of the Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina and other Dayton solutions, is there a danger that the degree Serb Republic independence will be reduced?

[Plavsic] The Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina will partially affect the independence of the Serb Republic, but it will to the same degree affect the Muslim-Croatian Federation too. The Serb Republic can profit from the Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina, from the economic point of view first of all. The only thing we must not allow is to be drawn into the unitary, sovereign, and indivisible Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is what Alija Izetbegovic wants, since we could soon be declared a second-class nation, the destiny we would share with the Croats. The Serbs would disappear within several decades. The elections in Mostar showed that the Croats heavily opposed that scenario.

[PANORAMA] How do you cope with the huge responsibility you have as the acting president of the Serb Republic?

[Plavsic] Politics in the Serb Republic are not made by one man, they are determined by the National Assembly of the Serb Republic; no changes can be expected in the execution of overall policy from my appointment as acting president.

[PANORAMA] What do you expect from the September elections?

[Plavsic] The upcoming elections are an opportunity for the Serb Republic to strengthen and retain the degree

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of independence it has been granted by the Dayton agreement.

[PANORAMA] You have already said somewhere that the main battle will be fought between the forces of the left and the right. What does each of these options offer to the people of the Serb Republic?

[Plavsic] If the SDS and parties close to it—the parties of national orientation—win, the results of the four-year war, in which the Serb people shed blood and suffered, will be upheld. In other words, the Serb Republic will remain an entity as the state of the Serb people in this area. Apart from that, the struggle with political and diplomatic means for the strengthening of the entity of the Serb Republic as a state as well as for the status of our state and the Serb nation in this area in general will be upheld. If, God forbid, it happens that the leftists win, I have the feeling that everything will be diluted and incorporated into Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[PANORAMA] Who do you consider the leftists?

[Plavsic] The parties that are oriented to the left and whose leaders stated that it would be good if we reestablished a joint life with Croats and Muslims.

[PANORAMA] How do you see the Serb Republic in the long run?

[Plavsic] If there is enough wisdom, and if the international community gives up the pressure exerted on us (which is likely, since new focuses appear in the world), I can see the Serb Republic as a very interesting area in the future, it will attract many Serbs to return to this region. If the SDS wins, the border of the Serb Republic will be consolidated, a constitutional state established, and a social and economic program made, which is a guarantee for a good life for not just the 1.3 or 1.4 million inhabitants who live here at the moment, but also for those who will move into the Serb Republic.

B-H: Plavsic, UN Human Rights Envoy Hold Talks

LD1008213296 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2022 GMT 10 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 10 Aug (SRNA)—Biljana Plavsic, vice president and acting president of the Serb Republic, held talks in Banja Luka this evening with Elisabeth Rehn, the UN special rapporteur on human rights in the former Yugoslavia, on POW's, missing persons, and the upcoming elections.

After the meeting Plavsic warned that the issue of POW's and missing persons was impeding the implementation of the Dayton agreement and successful elections because "a great number of people on both sides have no interest in anything but the search for their loved ones."

"This is an issue above all others and I stressed this at the meeting yesterday with John Kornblum, U.S. assistant secretary of state, because this issue is a great obstacle to the implementation of peace accord," the vice president said.

Recalling that the Dayton deadline for the release of prisoners from all prisons was 19 January 1996, she said that illegal arrests and detainments in camps were still taking place.

As for the conditions in which the elections will be held, Plavsic said that Mrs. Rehn was able to see that all the parties and candidates were equally represented in the Serb Republic media from the schedule of party political broadcasts presented to her today.

"We discussed the issue of missing persons in detail. There were tragedies on all sides and it is extremely important to find an answer to this question," Rehn said.

The UN special rapporteur for human rights said she was satisfied with the election campaign and practical measures being taken so that the elections can be held safely.

B-H: Plavsic Says IFOR Free To Inspect Military Site

LD1208142196 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1320 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 12 Aug (SRNA)—Biljana Plavsic, vice president and the acting president of the Serb Republic, had talks in Pale today with Peter Flight [spelling as received], political adviser to the Implementation Force [IFOR] commander in chief, on disagreements which arose over the inspection of certain Serb military bases.

Plavsic said that those talks were necessary and that some of the disagreements have been clarified.

"We are committed in full to the implementation of the Dayton Agreement in all its aspects, and especially in the military one. There has been a small holdup in the realization of the military aspect of the agreement. Today, we agreed that there are no obstacles from either side enabling IFOR to carry out regular inspections in the future," Plavsic said.

Mr. Flight said the meeting was "fruitful and pleasant."

"I am glad to be able to announce that within next 24 to 48 hours IFOR will carry out an inspection in the area of the Han Pijesak site in accordance with its operational needs," he explained, and thanked Biljana

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Plavsic on behalf of General George Joulwan for the speedy resolution of this problem.

In conclusion, Mr. Flight said that successful cooperation with the Serb army will continue, providing the inspection at the above site is carried out within the set timetable.

B-H: Plavsic Announces 'Fair Deal' Reached With NATO

LD1208170896 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1638 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 12 Aug (SRNA)—Biljana Plavsic, vice president and acting president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, said in Pale today that an agreement has been reached with NATO representatives, thereby paving the way for the further implementation of the Dayton Agreement.

After a meeting with NATO Secretary General Javier Solana and General George Joulwan, NATO commander in Europe, which was also attended by [Bosnian Serb] parliament Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik, she stressed that the collocutors were "very specific" and added that "when one addresses problems in this way, there are good chances of resolving them."

According to Mrs Plavsic, [words indistinct] objections of the NATO alliance and the Serb Republic concerning violations of the Dayton agreement. "I think that this was a fair deal and that relations of this kind can certainly produce good results," Plavsic said in conclusion.

The NATO secretary general said that he and General Joulwan had a meeting with Plavsic and Krajisnik "in order to clarify some problems."

"I have to stress that the most important violation of the Dayton agreement has been resolved," Solana said, without specifying what he meant. He added that Ifor [Implementation Force] will not tolerate any violations of the Dayton agreement.

According to Solana, this is a very significant moment at a time when we are facing the most important issue: the forthcoming elections.

B-H: Serb Official: NATO Cannot Alter Boundaries

LD1208161696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1345 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Brcko, 12 Aug (SRNA)—Milenko Karisik, assistant interior minister of the Serb Republic and head of public security of the republic, said in Brcko today that "no one, not even the head of NATO, has the right to change the provisions of the Dayton agreement, which clearly and in great detail defines the territorial delineation between the Serb Republic and the Croat-Muslim federation.

"The maps of the delineation between the Serb Republic and the Croat-Muslim federation were signed in Dayton. IFOR has the mandate to secure the 4-km-wide zone of separation, while the Serb and federal police patrol intensively along this boundary, and this is not going to change," Karisik said.

Reacting to yesterday's statement by NATO Secretary General Javier Solana that IFOR had been given the mandate to remove interentity boundaries in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karisik said that "NATO's task is only to ensure the implementation of the Dayton agreement."

B-H: Plavsic Praises State Media

LD1108160996 Pale Srpska Radio-Televizija First Program Serb Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Biljana Plavsic, the vice president and acting president of the Serb Republic, had talks in Bijeljina today with representatives of the state media in the Serb Republic about the role of the information media in preparations for the upcoming September elections. The meeting was also attended by Information Minister Dragan Bozovic. Verica Zelenovic reports:

[Zelenovic] Today's meeting in the Bijeljina Municipal Assembly was an opportunity to discuss in more detail the situation in the Serb Republic media and their role in the elections and the election campaign. Dr. Plavsic warned journalists on what they needed to concentrate, bearing in mind the stand of foreign representatives toward the Serb Republic, especially toward our media. She told them they should closely adhere to the terminology of the Dayton agreement in order to have the minimum problems.

So far, the journalists have carried out their duties quite correctly, Plavsic said, and added:

[Begin Plavsic recording] The aim of the meeting is to examine the work of the media in general. If we are to discuss all the aspects we will need almost an entire day. Throughout the war and in these few months of peace the media have worked the best they could given the available funds. We know what funds we have. I am surprised sometimes to see how much the media have to cope with and how they put in the last drop of their energy given the resources they have.

You have nevertheless succeeded in doing quite well and in recovering to such an extent that you have

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reached a certain level and are ready to face this important period, the election period, in the Serb Republic.

Naturally, the election period requires specific information to be provided, and this is what we discussed today. [end recording]

[Zelenovic] Dr. Plavsic described the behavior of the foreign media.

[Begin Plavsic recording] We have discussed the media in our contacts with representatives of the international community, we discussed their complaints—I say complaints, of course, because we do not receive anything but complaints from them—but there are complaints that stand and need to be accepted, and we discussed these today. [end recording]

B-H: UK To Give Money to Serb Entity for Reconstruction

AU0908145196 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1033 GMT 9 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Bijeljina, 9 August (BETA)—The British Government has approved 4 million German marks [DM] for the reconstruction and overhaul of the Ugljevik mines and thermal power plant, thanks to the program of the British ODA [Overseas Development Agency].

"Except for some infrastructure facilities, this is the first plant in the Serb Republic that has been granted financial aid for reconstruction from the world," said Boro Bosic, director general of the Ugljevik thermal power plant.

The means will be used for the purchase of equipment that is already being delivered, while the overhaul of the Ugljevik plant is expected to end by 19 August, when this facility is supposed to get reconnected to the power production and distribution system of the Serb Republic.

No pressure or blackmail was used to influence the distribution of means, while the aid has been granted on the basis of the Dayton Accord, which specifies that every member-state of the international community will take part in the reconstruction of the region.

"If this investment yields positive results soon, we will get another DM3 million to round off this project," Bosic emphasized, expressing his gratitude to the British Government.

B-H: Report on Agreement on Han Pijesak Inspection

AU1208174096 Paris AFP in English 1731 GMT 12 Aug 96

[By Peter Cinliffe-Jones]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 12 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs agreed Monday to allow NATO troops to inspect Bosnian Serb military headquarters after a tense weekend standoff, but NATO maintained its call on aid workers to quit Serb areas as a precaution.

NATO's ground troop commander in Bosnia, General Sir Michael Walker, meanwhile placed his 50,000-strong force on high alert following unspecified threats against the peace force.

Troops from the NATO-led peace Implementation Force (IFOR) will inspect the site at Han Pijesak, northeast of Sarajevo, over "the coming 24 to 48 hours" said Peter Feith, political adviser to IFOR commander Admiral Joseph Lopez.

Han Pijesak is the headquarters of Bosnian Serb army commander General Ratko Mladic, indicted on genocide and war crimes charges by the UN war crimes tribunal in The Hague.

The Bosnian Serbs had refused on Saturday to allow NATO troops into one site at the massive military complex, provoking a tense stand-off with the NATO force.

But speaking after talks here with interim Serb president Biljana Plavsic Feith said the inspection of Han Pijesak would go ahead.

"I'm pleased to announce that IFOR will carry out over the coming 24 to 48 hours at our operational convenience an inspection visit at the Han Pijesak site," he said.

Feith said the visit would cover "the entire area" of the Han Pijesak site, and another IFOR official said this would mean taking in Mladic's command bunker.

Tension between IFOR and the Serbs rose lase week after IFOR discovered a massive 2,000-tonne [metric ton] Serb arms stash in violation of the Dayton accord in a school in eastern Bosnia.

A NATO official said the NATO force had gone onto a state of alert following "threats" the source of which he refused to detail.

The move prompted Walker to ban until further notice all Bosnian Serb army flights across Bosnia, and cancel

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a meeting between a top IFOR commander and a senior Serb air force officer, Boudreau said.

On Monday Walker activated Operation Fear Naught, a state of high alert for IFOR troops and recommended that non-governmental organisations and other civilian organisations withdraw foreign staff from Serb-held territory.

"As part of the plan, small, isolated detachments of IFOR troops stationed in the RS [Serb Republic] (Bosnian Serb entity) will redeploy to larger, more secure areas and bases. The redeployment is effective until further notice," NATO said in a statement.

A UN police spokesman in Sarajevo said some UN police units in Serb territory were already being withdrawn Monday and taken into IFOR bases.

During a previous stand-off with Bosnian Serbs, in May last year, several hundred lightly-armed and isolated UN troops and observers were taken hostage by Bosnian Serb forces to act as a "human shield" against air strikes.

"We are determined nothing like that can happen again," a NATO official said here.

NATO spokesman Major Brett Boudreau, speaking in Sarajevo said that until the inspection had actually taken place, the state of alert still stood.

"As it stands now, until IFOR goes into that site, Operation Fear Naught still stands," he said.

The official Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA on Monday quoted what it termed "well-informed sources" as saying IFOR's attempt to inspect the site at Han Pijesak "has no connection with the control of arms," hinting at some other motive, including an attempt to arrest Mladic.

IFOR insists its policy that it will not hunt down suspected war criminals has not changed.

The events meanwhile overshadowed a visit to Sarajevo and Pale by NATO Secretary General Javier Solana and military commanders and a meeting in Brussels of the five-nation contact group on Bosnia.

The meeting was called to discuss progress towards Bosnia's first post-war elections, set for September 14.

The presidents of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia are to meet in Geneva Wednesday, along with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, to discuss the elections.

B-H: Serb Police Attempt To Remove SPRS Factory Director

AU1208163496 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1437 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 12 Aug (BETA)—Early this morning, the Bosnian Serb police tried to organize the ousting of Rade Pavlovic, director of the Destilacija Drveta factory, the largest industrial plant in the town, sources in the factory claim.

The sources in the Destilacija Drveta factory say that the police surrounded the factory at 0500 [0300 GMT] this morning, when all of Teslic was under a blockade. They say that 200 policemen took part in the operation.

According to the same sources, three policemen tried to get into the factory grounds over the fence, but they had to go back after the factory security guards opened fire.

Pavlovic is a member of the Main Committee of the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic (SPRS), and chairman of the Teslic Socialists.

The SPRS claims that the ruling Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) has launched a campaign to remove all the directors in the RS who are not members of that party.

The Socialists have lodged a sharp protest with the OSCE mission, demanding an end to the harassment of the members of the SPRS and the coalition block Alliance for Peace and Progress.

B-H: Bosnian Serb Police Will Ensure Peaceful Elections

LD1208152696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Brcko, 12 Aug (SRNA)—Milenko Karisik, assistant interior minister of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, said in Brcko today that the Serb police will secure all the conditions necessary for peaceful and free elections in September.

At a regular meeting of the Interior Ministry which was chaired by Minister Dragan Kijac it was said that the police will step up their activities to secure a peaceful preelection campaign.

According to Karisik, the meeting was held in Brcko in order to show in this way, too, that this is an area of vital importance for the Serb Republic.

Karisik did not comment about the possible arrival of 20,000 Muslims in Brcko on the day of the elections, but said that the Serb police will guarantee peace, freedom, and safety to everyone throughout the country.

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Croatia: Serb Commentary Views Tudjman-Milosevic Meeting

AU1208164996 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Aug 96

[Commentary by Mica Jovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] The meeting of Slobodan Milosevic, the president of the Republic of Serbia, and Croatian President Tudjman has stirred up great interest among the international media, diplomacy, and analysts, and the commentaries are varied. Today, we will hear a view of the talks prepared by the commentator of the provincial press center, Mica Jovic.

[Jovic] Tudjman's promises and the offers he presented for what is diplomatically called the normalization of relations between the FRY and Croatia must be viewed and assessed in the light of his overall policies. The question arises of whether Tudjman was sincere when he said he would make the return of displaced Serbs possible, if one keeps in mind that in, his speech in Knin, only four days before, he said he was proud that only Croats live in the town, as was the case in King Zvonimir's time.

The Croatian opposition parties and some of the media reacted to the meeting of the two presidents and the announcement for the normalization of relations by denying Tudjman the right to make decisions on the issue on his own and asking that the responsibility for the war and aggression against Croatia be determined first. Naturally, they claim that this responsibility lies exclusively with the Serbs.

The announced normalization of Croat-Serb relations will, according to the statements issued after the meeting, be carried out by Belgrade and Zagreb. The future of our province has already been determined in Dayton and by the Erdut Agreement, and the only thing left for us to do is to continue to fight for as favorable a status as possible within the set limits.

Individuals from the United Nations and officials of the Republic of Croatia have been trying to reject and annul the political struggle and the demands made by the people of the province for autonomy and special status by saying that political autonomy is out of the question. Perhaps they would do well to try to explain what political autonomy means. The demands for a certain level of self-management, the right to one's own culture, history, language, script, education, and national insignia, the right to live a peaceful life and to exercise human rights as guaranted by the international community cannot be characterized as demands for political autonomy. No one can deny us the right to use all peaceful means to fight for a peaceful life that every man deserves and to make decisions about our future.

Croatia: Croatian Air Force Turns to Western Technology

AU1208204196 Zagreb NACIONAL in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 96 pp 6-7

["Analysis" by Dragisa Brasnovic: "Croatian Air Force Introduces Swiss Turbojet, Ukrainian Cargo Aircraft—and American 'Delta Force' Helicopters!"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In honor of Thanksgiving Day, 5 August, at Zemunik air base near Zadar, the Croatian Air Force for the first time publicly presented several types of new aircraft. The first among them is the "Pilatus PC-9" training plane. This Swiss-made plane is the best training plane for the basic flight training of combat pilots. [passage omitted]

Croatia's intention to purchase a new Western-made aircraft was announced for the first time this spring in an interview with Major General Vladimir Zagorac, chief of the purchasing department of the Ministry of Defense. He said that Croatia had been negotiating two possibilities for training planes—the Brazilian "Tucano EME-312" made by "Embraero," and the Swiss Pilatus PC-9. [passage omitted]

The plane's avionics consists of two electronic displays (cathode-ray tubes) on which all requested data on the position of the aircraft, flight elements, as well as the data needed for navigation are presented. Unlike Tucano, Pilatus is equipped for flying at much higher altitudes; its cockpit is under supercompression. It also has a special device for the protection of the pilot from the excessive vertical pressure, as well as devices to defrost the aircraft's vital parts.

New Croatian Aircraft

Flying horizontally, this aircraft reaches maximum speed of 593 kilometers per hour, and when diving as much as 667 km/h. It reaches 4,500 meters altitude in four and a half minutes, while its maximum operational altitude is 7,620 meters. The final climbing extent, the so-called ceiling of the aircraft is 11,580 meters, which is really an excellent result for a little plane the taking-off mass of which does not exceed 3,200 kg.

To take off, a PC-9 needs a runway only 227 meters long, and to land, 540 meters. The maximum range at the altitude of 7,600 meters is incredible 1,642 km. Except for training purposes, Pilatus PC-9 can be used as a combat plane with an optional 1,000 kg cargo of diverse variants of traditional guided weapons. [passage omitted]

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Apart from Pilatus, there was one more aircraft presented in Zadar: The An-32B medium cargo plane, produced by the famous Ukrainian cargo plane manufacturer "Antonov." The An-32B does not belong to the very technological top, but it is a mighty cargo plane, it carries 7,000 kg or 50 armed paratroopers, which are landed via an engine-propelled launching pad. With two "progres AI-20D" [term as published] engines, at 5,000 horsepower, it achieves cruising speed of 520 km/h in horizontal flight. It is completely equipped for instrument-guided flight in all weather conditions.

Strong landing gear enables it to land on levelled grassy fields. The basic characteristic of this aircraft, which makes it different from other aircraft in its class, is that it is possible for it to take off from the airports situated at the height of 4,500 meters above sea level, at an external air temperature of 40 degrees Celsius, and with the maximum load at the moment of take off, which is extremely important in support to the air operations at the Adriatic coast during summer.

The "McDonnell Douglas MD-500" light helicopter is another new aircraft presented on the occasion of the Homeland Thanksgiving Day. "Defender" is a light multipurpose helicopter, suitable for transport, reconnaissance, and training of pilots, and in some variants it can be armed with TOW antitank missiles, or unguided rocket missiles.

Such helicopters are used by American "Delta Force" special forces. A "Vulture J-20," light piston-engine combat plane, captured during Operation Storm, was also presented. It was developed in former Yugoslavia in the mid-sixties, as "partisan" air support, and it flies successfully; it has found its place in the Croatian Air Force, too.

Training Aviation

A captured "Seagull" training jet plane, also part of the loot from Operation Storm, an elderly, but still successful training plane, has also been introduced into the Croatian Air Force. An Mi-8 MTV-1 cargo helicopter, as well as Mi-24 helicopter gunship, performed their usual flying programs. Although already seen, their impressive performances were not a bit less attractive than usual.

Just like always on the air displays of the Croatian Air Force, powerful engines of the MiG-21 BIS fighter plane, with their strength in the forced regime of flight, dominated the skies over Ravni Kotari. Although MiG-21 BIS is still the main Croatian combat plane, successfully applied in the military operations to liberate the occupied areas, the appearance of a modern Pilatus PC-9 basically announced the end of Russian-made aircraft in the Croatian Air Force.

The air exhibition in Zemunik proved that the Croatian Air Force has, in less than five years of existence, with military operations almost continuously carried out, succeeded in developing a comprehensive system of a special aspect of armed force with all the necessary elements for its operation.

Apart from MiG-21, Mi-24 combat helicopters, the cargo component of the Air Force consists also of An-32 planes, and Mi-8 MTV-1 helicopters; and the reconnaissance component has unmanned aircraft, which were also displayed at the exhibition. [passage omitted]

"Wild Duck-75" is suitable for selection of pilots, Pilatus PC-9 completely satisfies needs for the basic education of pilots, Seagull can be applied as a transitional jet plane, while MiG-21 UV "Mongol" two-seater is used to teach fighter plane pilots. Thus, not only can Croatia successfully perform combat operations from the air, but it can completely independently train pilots from the basic level to the supersonic aircraft. It is obvious that the Croatian Air Force has finally started the process of modernization and transfer to contemporary Western technology.

Croatia: Athens Meeting Seen as 'Possible Victory'

AU1308105096 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 96 p 4

[Commentary by Joza Vlahovic: "Victory in Athens"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I know that it is not quite true, but it sounds so nice: Mr. Tudjman has already solved the Zagreb crisis in Athens, and it is just that Mr. Gotovac and Mr. Tomac have not heard about it yet.

After long training in the gym of the seven-headed opposition (you must treat their heads just like hotel rooms are treated in our tourist industry: You pretend that what is empty is full), and nine months after the electoral results have withered and died, the Croatian president has become an exceptionally good political acrobat and equilibrist. He can even compete with the famous Slobodan Milosevic, his main rival in all events—although of course we cannot count The Hague. The preelection period may have shaken Mr. Tudjman a bit, but the Athens meeting reinforced his hold on the situation. Dangerous guy from Zagorje that he is, I bet he could enter the elections tomorrow and win them, too—for the first time after Operation Storm or, as the Slovenes would say, "nevihta" [Slovene for storm]. By the way, the Slovenes admired the operation, too.

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Normalization

The breeze of ferragosto [Italian for mass vacation in August] has finally blown the first groups of openhanded Italian tourists to our coast. Ferragosto tends to be a stalemate in terms of politics, but the recent explosion of political events has dwarfed the significance of tourism. As recently as in early August nothing was moving. Tensions were high and opinions diverse, especially in Mostar. It seemed to be a political deadlock. Suddenly an unprecedented express disentanglement began. Tudjman's meeting with Clinton was the dress rehearsal; then came the final preparations in Knin. The opening night was in Athens. In the meantime, Mostar either fell on its knees or rose from the dead like Lazarus, depending on your point of view. Finally, Athens wove bay wreaths for at least three heads, two white-haired and one bald. The bald Greek prime minister, Costas Simitis, was the host of the meeting and a skillful mediator between Milosevic and Tudjman. He also had the honor to announce that diplomatic relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia could be considered to exist from that day onward. The two leaders did not deny his words. The job was practically done. Croatia and the FRY recognized one another. Croatians and Serbians are normalizing their relations in all domains, and the official recognition and establishment of diplomatic relations will be signed by ministers Granic and Milutinovic. Tudjman even set the date of their meeting: 23 August.

Although that outcome had been expected for a long time and announced with too much optimism, many people did not think that Milosevic would run that risk before this year's elections. He could have entered the elections without burning a single bridge. He was the one that kept imposing conditions (Prevlaka and other things) for the mutual recognition. He eventually agreed to normalize relations with Croatia without having Prevlaka surrendered or sold to him, contrary to what the croakers had prophesized. Milosevic obviously preferred that to the preelection uncertainty of the poisonous hanging gardens [otrovni viseci vrtovi], if you know what I mean.

So what is it all about, gentlemen? In my opinion, Milosevic has at least one great advantage. The Belgrade opposition is much less united than the one we have in Zagreb. Their coalition named "Together" began to dissolve before it was even formed, and its undertaker is the new Serbian "Iron Lady." That is not Mrs. Markovic, as you may have thought, but Danica Draskovic, the wife of the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement. She has already cast a pall upon one of the possible coalition partners, Zoran Djindjic. She has also buried the Democratic Party Chairman Vojislav Kosutic in the SRPSKA REC, where she is editor in chief. It is quite impossible to tell who is working for whom, and who is trying to harm whom. I do not give a damn, anyway.

Memories

Before the Athens meeting took place, the greatest Croatian Wednesday newspaper (the greatest in format, of course) published excerpts from the Ljubljana MLADINA interview with the former "giant of Croatian journalism," as Aleksandar Tijanic used to call himself. By the way, the guy used to play havoc with the Croatian press (NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA and the DANAS weekly in its stagnation periods) however he liked. I remember the eighties, when this big man with a crew cut warned me in public that I should stop attacking Belgrade in my articles. I had no right to do that, he said. I promised my colleague that I would stop the day that Belgrade stopped being the capital of my country. The dangerous Serb colleague apparently felt that he had the right to attack Croatia as much as he liked.

Our great-format papers now babble about Tijanic's "verbal aggression against Croatia," as if we could have expected the new Serbian communications minister to do something else. Anyway, the whole commotion about Tijanic had already turned a bit stale by the time it appeared in the Croatian press. The same Slovene magazine already had a new interview. This time they interviewed Ivan Stambolic, the first protector and guardian angel of Milosevic's career, and actually his first victim (remember the Eighth session).

Prevlaka

Perhaps this part of the world will look a bit different after Athens and all these great changes. Or will it be like in the old saying: The more it changes, the more it stays the same? Can we trust Slobodan Milosevic, whose hair has already turned white? The problem of Prevlaka was mentioned in the Athens talks in the context of the security of Boka Kotorska and Dubrovnik. President Tudjman made it very clear that it was not much of a problem for Croatia. That is it, for the time being. I think that the greatest possible result of the Granic-Milutinovic meeting might be the consent of Croatia to a completely civilian status of its southern peninsula and its cape Ostra. That cape might be free of soldiers, but I hope there will be room for a Croatian police officer or two. I recently visited Prevlaka (I was not allowed to go to Ostra) and discussed that issue with Dr. Adam Benovic of the Institute for Biology, which is situated in the St. John fortress in Dubrovnik. Dr. Benovic said that every little piece of Ostra that we might surrender, lend, or sell to any other country would be a multiple loss of the Croatian sea and economic area

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in the future. That comes from the way that sea borders are determined. Consequently, we must not let go of Prevlaka at any rate. I hope that Franjo Tudjman and Mate Granic (especially the latter) are aware of that.

Deputies

Although nobody treats the issue with the usual triumphalism, Athens is a victory for Croatia, or our possible victory—all's well that ends well. Serbia, under the cover of the FRY, might really be coming to its senses at last. It might be a trick, however. Many people picture Slobodan Milosevic as Milos the Great. He perhaps has the same skill for making deals that the late greatest Serbian duke—the dangerous Milos Obrenovic, the real Milos the Great—used to have. He made pacts with the Osmanlis [Turks] while his compatriots rebelled and organized uprisings. He helped crush some of the greatest rebellions himself. He knew how to put pressure on people, and he had an immense appetite for territory, but there were also times when he surrendered, withdrew, sat down, and waited for the next chance. I can still remember the anecdote about Milos Obrenovic appointing a certain merchant the first Serbian deputy in Istanbul after an agreement about Serbia was made in Bucharest, if I remember well, in the middle of the 19th century. He received the merchant—who had probably paid dearly to be appointed—to give him the credentials, as we would say today, and explain everything about his diplomatic duties. "My dear sir," Milos the Great said, "you know what the Osmanlis are like. They like two things: gold and ass. We do not have any gold, and the rest is your job."

Croatia: Beli Manastir Council Discusses UNTAES Relations

AU1208162496 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Aug 96

[Report by Ljiljana Dajic on 97th Session of the Executive Council of the Beli Manastir Municipal Assembly in Beli Manastir on 9 August]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today's 97th Session of the Executive Council of the Beli Manastir Municipal Assembly was chaired by Vaso Zigic. Members of the council discussed many important issues concerning the political and economic life in Baranja. Among other issues, the municipal government members dealt with the report on the relations with the UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia] and the future steps in implementing the Erdut agreement.

[Dajic] President of the Executive Council, Vaso Zigic, submitted the report on relations with UNTAES in the Baranja area and the recent visit of the delegation from the German Embassy in Zagreb. Executive Council members believe that, with the aim of implementing the basic agreement as consistently as possible, it is necessary for the provincial government to (?be better coordinated) as far as future contacts with UNTAES are concerned, in which both the municipal and the provincial authorities have displayed a high degree of cooperativeness, particularly as far as the Croatian officials' visits to Baranja are concerned.

The members of the Executive Council asked the committees, with UNTAES mediation, to take part in negotiations with the Croatian authorities, to provide more detailed reports. [sentence as heard] It was decided that representatives of the Committee for Establishing Genocide Crimes Against the Serbs in Baranja should be invited to attend the next session in order for their activities to be intensified. [passage omitted]

Croatia: UN Investigators To Excavate 'Mass Grave' at Ovcara

AU1208161996 Paris AFP in English 1605 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 12 (AFP)—UN war crimes investigators will next month start excavating a suspected mass grave thought to contain victims of the 1991 Vukovar hospital masscre, UN spokesman Colonel Jean-Marie Jockan said Monday.

Croatian officials say the site at Ovcara, in eastern Croatia, contains the bodies of some 250 Croatians killed by separatis Serbs.

Until now the Serbs who control the area have refused UN investigators access to the site. Work is scheduled to start September 1.

The Croatian authorities say the graves contain the remains of patients from Vukovar hospital who were murdered after the eastern town fell to besieging Serb forces following a brutal three-month siege.

The investigations are linked to the work of the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia which is attempting to prosecute alleged war crimes committed throughout the region.

Meanwhile, a Croatian government team on Monday began excavating mass graves in the Plitvice region of central Croatia thought to contain the bodies of more Croatians killed by secessionist Serbs, the Croatian HINA agency said.

The Croatian commission for prisoners and missing persons, which is overseeing the task of exhuming the burial grounds, said five bodies had been uncovered at the Smoljenac site.

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Hina said six separate excavations would be carried out in the region, 140 kilometres (86.8 miles) south of Zagreb, which was formally controlled by breakaway Serbs.

The official agency did not say whether international observers were present.

However, a spokesman for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Zagreb said no ICRC delegates were taking part in the work.

"Our presence is indispensable during the identification of bodies," the spokesman added.

The Croatian government has already carried out excavations in several mass graves in regions formally held by breakaway Serbs recaptured by the Croatian army in a lightning offensive last August.

Croatia: Transitional Police Forces Release Jul Report

AU1208160496 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Transitional police forces report for July a more favorable situation concerning public law and order and a decrease in the number of all types of offences. At the same time, the unresolved issue of the authorization of the UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia] military and police divisions represented a great problem that may have unfavorable consequences. Milan Pesut has more details:

[Pesut] The transitional police forces began their operation in the month of July. At the same time, the mixed patrols began to carry out their activity at the border crossings, said the latest report from the transitional police forces' information service. The activity concerning discovering and combatting crime was unobstructed and continuous.

During the month of July, 176 criminal acts were registered in the Serb province, and 116 perpetrators were found. There were 117 criminal acts that related to private and social property, the greatest number of any one type of act. Eight offences containing elements of violence were registered; one of which was murder, but the number of offences containing elements of violence in the overall number of criminal acts is decreasing.

Seventy-four traffic accidents were registered in the province in the month of July, in which four persons were killed, ten were seriously injured, and 11 were slightly injured.

The transitional police forces' report noted that public law and order in the province is favorable. It primarily emphasizes the organization of public rallies, which were promptly announced by the organizers, the example being the rally in Vukovar on 28 July.

The incidents that occurred in Baranja, in the villages of Luc and Bilje, are said to have been results of notifying the transitional police forces too late and of the fact that the Belgian UNTAES battalion took over the role of police, which is unacceptable. The control of traffic and movement of vehicles on this section of highway and its immediate surroundings also presented a problem. Since the issue of this authorization has not been resolved completely, members of the Jordanian UNTAES battalion have taken over the role of police here, but they are insufficiently trained and do not have sufficient insight necessary to carry out these tasks.

These are not the only misunderstandings between the transitional police forces and the military component of the UNTAES, which demands more coordination and exchange of information, said the July report of the transitional police forces.

Croatia: Croatian-Hungarian Border Crossing To Reopen 15 Aug

AU0908174296 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 96 p 2

[Article from Osijek by B.V.: "Good Wind for Reintegration"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 15 August 1996, after five years, the Knezevo-Udvar border crossing between Croatia and Hungary should be reopened. That was the reason for yesterday's meeting between the foreign affairs delegations of Croatia and Hungary, which was also attended by Jacques Klein, administrator of the Transitional Administration; Ivica Vrkic, head of the government's Office of Temporary Administration; and Branimir Glavas, head of Osijek-Baranja county.

J. Klein emphasized that the agreement solves the five-year isolation of the area, and that the objective of the United Nations is to peacefully reintegrate the area into the state system of the Republic of Croatia, return all refugees, and start an exchange of goods. I. Vrkic added that the opening of an international traffic line and border crossing is the last such significant opening under the Transitional Administration, and that it therefore represents "a special wind in the sails of peaceful reintegration."

At the beginning UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia] members will control the arrival of citizens and goods on the basis of Croatian laws, and representatives of Croatian police and customs, as well as representatives of the Serbs, will be involved in their units.

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Croatia: Pula City Council Crisis Causing Discord in IDS

AU0908180796 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 96 p 2

[Commentary by Vesna Brnabic: "IDS Losing Its Bearings"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the case of the crisis in Pula, the Istrian Democratic Congress [IDS], the leading party in Istria, has proved itself to be pretty impotent. It seems that at the Pula city hall they do not intend to satisfy the IDS by voting nonconfidence in Stokovic and associates, so the IDS can do nothing but rely on the Pula team's good will in solving the problem in the way the IDS Club of Representatives and Pula branch office expect them to. The IDS is mentioning more and more frequently that such a council session is also being demanded by representatives who are not members of the party, because the behavior of the citizens' representatives is not a party problem alone but a problem for the whole of Pula.

Playing the opposition card in the municipal council could also mean that the IDS can no longer find its way in the Pula crisis, and is therefore looking for associates. Some people reproach the party for that, because when the IDS councilors were drawing attention to the work of the city administration, the party was not particularly interested in such objections. The councilors want county head Luciano Delbianco and the president of the county assembly, Damir Kajin, to assist in implementing lawfulness in the functioning of the city council, but the two of them cannot do much, and all roads lead to the Ministry of Administration. It can, however, suggest to the government that it appoint a trustee for Pula, rumors about which have already started to spread in the Pula lobbies.

Of course the IDS is not the least interested in such a solution. The party has in any case been rather shaken by the Pula crisis, and the most recent events have shown that it is losing its influence in the largest Istrian town. If Stokovic and associates continue to govern Pula (along with a trustee?), that would be a gradual loss of power and a great defeat for the IDS. Will it be in Pula that the IDS pays for its mistaken personnel moves, but also for being too self-confident in the elections?

Croatia: Government Agrees To Pay Serb Administrators' Salaries

AU0908123996 Paris AFP in English 1156 GMT 9 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 9 (AFP)—Croatia has signed an agreement with the United Nations promising to pay salaries for administrative posts, such as teachers, in the last rebel Serb-held part of Croatia, the world body said Friday.

The agreement was signed late Thursday by the UN official in charge of Serb-held Eastern Slavonia, Jacques Klein, and Croatian government officials.

"UNTAES (the UN Temporary Administration in Eastern Slavonia) believes this is a very good first step," UN spokesman Douglas Coffman told AFP.

The Serb-held part of Eastern Slavonia, making up about four percent of Croatia's territory, backs onto Serbia and is due to return to Croatian control after a period of UN administration.

Coffmann said that the Croatian government promised pay a certain amount every month for the next six months.

"This is pay for the salaries and the administrative and operating costs of the region," he said.

Coffman said it would cover salaries for healthcare workers, teachers, infrastructure officials and civil administrators.

Previously, these wages were paid by the local Serb authorities from funds from the Djeletovci oil field. But the oilfield was shut down in April and the local administration could no longer afford to pay wages.

Croatia was reminded this week of its responsibility to provide financial support for the administration in a report submitted to the Security Council by UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

The report noted that Serbs' fears about the reintegration of the region had increased as the deadline drew nearer.

"Their concerns are linked to the deterioration of the economic situation and the absence of funding for the local administration," the report said.

Under a November agreement between Croatia and the local rebel Serbs, the United Nations is to administer the region for an initial period of one year from January 1996.

The agreement says the mandate can be renewed for a further year if either side asks for it, but Croatian officials have said recently that they did not want the UN mandate renewed.

UNTAES spokesman Philip Arnold has said the final decision on how long the United Nations stays rests with the Security Council.

Croatia was under fire this week from the world body over the harassment faced by the Serbs who remained

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in former Serb-held territory recaptured by the Croatian army in August last year.

Croatia: Croat, Bosnian Independent Press Reporting Criticized

LD1208204496 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We will review some foreign and our own newspapers which, in this summer lull wish to create their own sensations using dirty tricks. They try to do this through denigration, through lies and crude criticism of everything at the expense of Croatia.

[Correspondent Obrad Kosovac] Except in rare cases there are no significant events this summer. That is why this period is called in the world of journalism: the season of gherkins. [passage omitted]

On the other hand, some locally produced sensations hold no water as they are based on nothing but unscrupulous efforts by hacks to provoke suspicion, confusion, or score a few political points in the general mosaic of attempts to paint as dark a picture of Croatia as possible.

For example, last week the Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE published a ridiculous statement, claiming that during the Storm, Muslim forces liberated Korenica and the Lakes of Plitvice.

Everyone in his right mind knows that Croatia, with its rapid actions, saved Bihac and established conditions in this area of Europe that helped the Muslim nation, after Srebrenica and the overall Serb offensive, to survive in its homeland.

The headline of the OSLOBODJENJE article is "A Short Memory" and is meant as a criticism of Croatia. But it is very clear that the author not only has a short memory, but has no memory at all when he transforms the evident fact of Croatian help into its extreme opposite.

The Croatian champion in inventions and deceit is a tabloid. [PANORAMA headline appears on screen]. Last week it announced pretentiously that Presidents Tudjman and Clinton had not met at all in Washington. The author was the paper's editor in chief who until recently wrote on Croatian policy in a very different manner.

This weekly is joined today by another, [FERAL TRIBUN headline appears on screen] which, in a familiar manner, but from a journalistic and human standpoint beyond any reason or journalistic code of conduct, wishes to discredit—through caricatures and in a vulgar manner—the Washington meeting of the two presidents. NOVI LIST of Rijeka last weekend used poisonous language and a mixture of incredible assessments, speculations, and conclusions to rubbish the head of the Croatian state after his Athens meeting with President of Serbia Milosevic. [passage omitted]

Another hack, in the same paper, meditates on history and human consciousness with the aim of showing the naive his distorted vision of the celebration, of Croatian Victory Day, and a Croatia that on no account is his cherished home. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Preparation for Return of Refugees to Drnis

96BA0371B Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 96 p 7

[Article by D. Blazevic: "No More Displaced Persons From Drnis as of 1 September"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Since neither Drnis leaders nor the Ministry of Reconstruction is satisfied with the pace of work on rebuilding houses and the accompanying infrastructure, Minister Radic has announced the arrival of workers and enterprises from Western Slavonia at Drnis construction sites in order to create the proper conditions for returnees by 1 September.*

"We are firmly abiding by our promises that 1 September 1996 will see the completion of the first phase of reconstruction, which is also the precondition for returning. We, at the Ministry of Reconstruction and Development, will do everything possible to speed up the reconstruction of houses, but we ask you to speed up the administrative work," Dr. Jure Radic, assistant prime minister and minister of reconstruction and development, told Drnis's leaders on Tuesday. Radic, together with colleagues and representatives from the Croatian Power Company and the Croatian Water Conservation Company, visited the Drnis area in order to view the reconstruction process. The talks were also attended by Sibenik Governor Pasko Bubalo, Deputy Governor Ivo Baica, assembly deputies, Drnis Mayor Ante Matic, and others.

"As mayor," Matic said in his opening statement, "I can say that I am satisfied that the Drnis area is even being rebuilt. However, I am not be satisfied with the pace of the reconstruction. In particular, 410 buildings have been included in the reconstruction of housing facilities in the city area, 351 have started to be rebuilt, but only 77 have roofs! Thus, there is obviously something wrong with the pace of reconstruction for which the contractors and their disorganization and neglect of the construction deadlines will be blamed."

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At the same time, according to the mayor, social infrastructure facilities, especially the secondary school building, are waiting for reconstruction, and people in Drnis consider it unacceptable to have the next school year possibly start without a rebuilt high school.

Furthermore, the biggest problem for the Drnis residents is obviously the sluggish economic restructuring, which is mainly dictating the return of the inhabitants. The Dalmacijavina company's shop has been in operation since the first day of liberation, and has received a credit of 5.6 million German marks [DM]; GIRK-Kalun has been in operation for only a short time and has received DM 630,000 in its account, while Drnisplast and TOF are waiting for state assistance in the amount of about DM 3 million. According to Matic, electricity and water, which a large part of this area is lacking, are a big problem in rebuilding the Drnis area.

According to Jure Radic, the Ministry of Reconstruction is also dissatisfied with the pace of reconstruction in the Drnis area. "This is understandable when we can see that there are only 203 workers in the field instead of at least 1,000. In a few days, we will complete the reconstruction in Western Slavonia, which will free up about 2,000 workers, and I guarantee you that since we are not satisfied with the success of the enterprises here, we will bring enterprises from Western Slavonia to these construction sites," announced Minister Radic. He also announced that bids had been completed for contractors for the schools in Gradac, Oklaj, and Rupe, and that in a few days bids would also open for the secondary school in Drnis.

Dr. Jure Radic particularly called the attention of the Sibenik zupanija [county] to the excessively long administrative process in the zupanija, which was delaying reconstruction, because, as he said, "We build houses in 18 days, but wait 18 months for the papers."

Assistant Prime Minister Jure Radic also met with the leaders of the Unesic municipality, where he was briefed on destructive demographic trends. For example, in 1961 there were 1,400 pupils in 12 district schools in Unesic, and today there are 180 in a single district department.

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FYROM: Frckovski on Relations With Belgrade, Athens

AU1208160596 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 12 Aug 96 p 2

[Interview with Macedonian Foreign Minister Ljubomir Frckovski by Andrej Ivanji in Skopje; date not given: "Used to Greece's Pressure"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ivanji] How are the relations between Belgrade and Skopje?

[Frckovski] We concluded a state treaty with the FRY that recognizes the continuity of the Macedonian state since 1944. It is the first time that the rest of Yugoslavia deviated from the position that it is the only legal and political successor of the former Yugoslavia and that all other republics are secessionists. We are satisfied because it corresponds to reality. Other successor states can also refer to that.

[Ivanji] Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and Serbia have similar problems with the Albanian minority. Do you cooperate in this respect?

[Frckovski] Our actions in the solution of the Albanian question differ. The Macedonian Constitution guarantees minority rights that correspond to European standards. We have integrated the major part of the Albanian people into society by different institutions.

From the very beginning, international observers who distinguish precisely between minority rights and national romanticism, two concepts that are often confused in ethnic issues, have been present. Of course, an escalation would directly affect Kosovo. Therefore, we are banking on a broad dialogue. There, we are proceeding on the assumption that Kosovo is part of Serbia. A change in the political map in the Balkans is out of the question.

[Ivanji] Is Athens still laying claim to the name of Macedonia?

[Frckovski] We have gotten used to the tense relations with Greece and its pressure on Macedonia, and we can live with it. All other neighboring states have recognized us under the name of Macedonia. First of all, Athens' point of view on the name of Macedonia cannot be legally justified and, second, it is ridiculous.

For Macedonia, it is at best a bilateral problem, not an international problem. After the signing of the state treaty between Skopje and Athens in New York, economic cooperation has improved.

[Ivanji] What is your attitude toward the idea of a Balkan confederation, which is often discussed in Belgrade?

[Frckovski] Definitely negative. Regional cooperation is necessary, but, at the most, up to the level of a free economic zone. The right path for the countries of the Balkans is integration within the European institutions. The EU must not regard us only as a geographic part of Europe. It might have serious consequences if the Balkan countries are plunged into cooperation without European standards having been established first.

FYROM: PDPA, NDP Links to Albania Noted

AU1308081096 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 10 Aug 96 p 2

[Commentary by Panta Dzambazoski: "PDPA-NDP Under Foreign Direction"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is becoming more and more apparent that the minor political parties of the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] are using the question of the "university" in Mala Recica to cause a political crisis in the country. Together with the "authors of the university," the leaders of the PDPA [Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians], the NDP [People's Democratic Party], and the RPNE [Republican Party for National Unity]—Arben Dzaferi, Iljaz Halimi, and Nevzat Halili respectively—are intensively utilizing their links with Tirana, and the broad support that is arriving from there, to "break the legs" of Arben Dzaferi's PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity], which has so far been the only political connection between the Macedonian Albanians and the Macedonian state.

The moment was not chosen by accident. After Dayton, time is working greatly in favor of the political forces of the Albanians in Macedonia, in Albania, and in Kosovo to achieve a "territorial breakup" along "ethnic principles."

World "Tournaments" and Hopes

This is why Tirana is using the terminology "territories of the Albanians in Macedonia," why the Albanian parliament has adopted a resolution in which it asks for recognition of the "Tetovo university" (over which Macedonia submitted a protest note), why on all his trips Kosovo leader Rugova asks for the recognition of the "Tetovo university," and so on. In Tirana, this alleged deprivation of rights is the main topic discussed by Dzaferi, Taci, and Halimi in the offices of Albanian leaders like Sali Berisha, Alexander Mexi, and Pietr Arbnori, where they are frequent guests (unlike the PDP,

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which was not even invited to the last congress of the ruling party in Albania, the Democratic Party).

Following Rugova's style, they are now paying greater attention to "tournaments" around the world. After his last journey to the United States, Arben Dzaferi and Iljaz Halimi expressed their satisfaction, and predicted that the U.S. Congress would pass a resolution asking for the recognition of the "university" in Mala Recica. They had successful discussions with the Albanian-U.S. lobby in the Congress, and also said that a number of congressmen (who are not in the lobby), Republicans and Democrats, will also be talked into this. So Dzaferi says that the resolution of the Albanian parliament is the first "installment" in the reactions against the Macedonian authorities (because of the imprisonment of the "authors" of the illegal "university"), which will be followed by others, referring to a U.S. resolution that will be similar to that of the Albanian parliament (which actually represented insolent interference in the internal affairs of our country).

Are the hopes of Dzaferi and Halimi well grounded, knowing that the news arrived from overseas that this (U.S.) Congress had adopted the proposal of the Republicans by which English is proclaimed as the official language of the federal administration of a country in which many millions of people speak Spanish, Italian, French, Chinese, Native American languages—let us not list them all—and knowing that the members of 300 nations, 600 Native American tribes, and 70 Latin American groups live there? And up to 26 million people are Hispanic! Some of the mass media in the United States predict that bilingual education may also be affected.

Care and Disregard

The Albanian foreign political constant is to take care of the rights of the Albanians wherever they live. This formulation is old. It was used by Foreign Minister Alfred Serequi as well, and Tritan Shehu has inherited it. There is nothing abnormal in this, although it was used as the main argument in the last Macedonian protest note over what was actually direct interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. At the same time, it did not even cross the mind of Berisha's democrats to take an honest census of the population in Albania, in which the term "nationality" would be used. Let us not mention a university. Or the Macedonian minority, which according to some estimates (as a census has not been done) numbers nearly 200,000, but whose children, except in Mala Prespa (where there are 10,000), do not have single class in Macedonian, not even in Tirana, where the estimated number of Macedonians is nearly 20,000.

The activities of the "authors" from Mala Recica and the leaders of the PDPA and NDP, combined with the activities from Tirana, seem to be very well coordinated. There arrived an announcement from Mala Recica that the PDP is a "mercenary and vassal party" that is in coordination with the "Slav-Macedonian government," and that it should stop showing "alleged care for the university." The intention is clear—to provoke the PDP into abandoning the institutions of the system, which would be good grounds for the destabilization of the Macedonian state and for the realization of ambitions like "one's own territories."

However, the PDP could read between the lines of the bombastic announcement, and it replied as follows: "The pack of wolves from Tetovo university are howling from their Marxist-Leninist caves under some other people's direction."

FYROM: Petrovac Airport Reconstruction Begins

LD1208140596 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1233 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 12 Aug (TANJUG)—The reconstruction of Petrovac airport near Skopje started today. The work should end in two months.

It has been announced that the runway, approach paths, aprons, and communications at the airport will be refurbished.

During initial building works which will be carried out at night, airport traffic will be allowed only during daytime, until 2200, until 1 September.

From 1 September, the whole of Macedonia's air traffic will be transferred to the airport in Ohrid. [passage omitted]

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Poland: Further Reaction to Eliach Account of Ejszyszki 'Pogrom'

WS1208122696

[FBIS Report] Warsaw GAZETA SWIATECZNA of 10-11 August carried on page 2 two statements in response to an article by Yaffa Eliach, "Pogrom in Postwar Poland," published by THE NEW YORK TIMES.

The first statement, 1,000 words long, was issued by Tadeusz Filipkowski, press spokesman for the World Organization of Home Army Soldiers, and captioned by GAZETA SWIATECZNA "The Ejszyszki 'Pogrom'—National Army Statement." "On the night of 19-20 October 1944," Filipkowski writes, "a Home Army [AK] division consisting of members of a local self-defense network, commanded by M. Babul 'Gaj,' took over Ejszyszki." Filipkowski adds: "A captain of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs [NKVD], alias Smiersz (short for Smiert Szpionom, or death to spies—ed.), who was organizing a network of informants, was arrested. A sergeant was killed and a Red Army officer was disarmed. During the exchange of fire that took place in the course of disarming the NKVD officer, two civilians were killed (Mrs. Sonenson, at whose house the NKVD was stationed, and her baby son)." Filipkowski continues: "The unrelenting sorrow over the tragic death of innocent and accidental victims as well as sympathy with the orphaned Ms. Yaffa should be reiterated. One might also reflect upon the cruelty of any war. Ms. Yaffa's suffering and her prejudice toward men in Polish uniform are easily understood, although they were not guilty of the terror that did not disappear after the so-called liberation. AK soldiers became prey hunted by the NKVD, just like the Jews at the time of the Nazi occupation." "One can hardly condone the distortion of facts," Filipkowski states. "First, there was no pogrom in Ejszyszki. None of the over 30 inhabitants of the Jewish home were killed or hurt. A fight did, however, break out with the NKVD, and there were two accidental, innocent victims. Professor Eliach has a remarkable memory, although she was only seven at the time of the tragic events. She is very proud of having devoted 17 years of her life to researching the history of Ejszyszki. What a pity her memory is so tendentiously selective that she does not say why the NKVD officer (also a Jew) lived in her family home." The AK spokesman concludes: "As a survivor of the war, I would like to respect the pain Ms. Yaffa Eliach suffered as a child when she lost her closest relatives. That pain, however, should not be used for unethical purposes. One can only agree with Adam Michnik, who claims that her report is an offense to all those who fought for a free, democratic, and just Poland. Also to those Jewish colleagues (and there were many) who fought for your freedom and ours, as well as the dozens of Jewish fellow citizens who managed to survive the Holocaust thanks to the Underground State."

Directly under the above statement, GAZETA SWIATECZNA carries a 500-word statement by Prosecutor Stanislaw Kaniewski, deputy director of the Chief Commission for Investigating Crimes Against the Polish Nation. "The article by Prof. Yaffa Eliach recently published by THE NEW YORK TIMES discloses many new circumstances of the killing of her family members in Ejszyszki in October 1944. The Polish side was hitherto unaware of those circumstances. They have to be verified, among other things by hearing Prof. Eliach's testimony. The Chief Commission for Investigating Crimes Against the Polish Nation-The Institute of National Remembrance wishes to perform its statutory duties and explain the circumstances of the tragic events described by Prof. Eliach in order to identify and punish the perpetrators. Cooperation and assistance from people currently living in the United States is needed. That is why we will resubmit an appeal to hear the testimony of Prof. Eliach."

Poland: Failed Sale of Tanks for Bosnian Army Detailed

WS1208140096 Warsaw SZTANDAR in Polish 12 Aug 96 pp 1, 3

[Article by Wojciech Luczak: "Why Did We Not Sell T-72 Tanks to Bosnia?; We Lost $50 Million: Overlooked Tanks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Deputies from the New Democracy club—Eugeniusz Janula, Slawomir Nowakowski, and Jan Zaborowski—have written an open letter to Jacek Buchacz, minister of foreign economic cooperation, questioning the refusal to sell Polish T-72 tanks, which the Americans had strongly asked for, to Bosnia.*

The deputies claim that the government's official explanation, that the transaction would elicit a very hostile reaction from the Serbs, is unconvincing. They are demanding that the real reason for the refusal be given.

Without waiting for Minister Buchacz to reply or for Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski to return from holiday, SZTANDAR tried to recreate the process of the "tank affair" based on accounts from reliable sources, who asked to remain anonymous. We probably lost more than $50 million due to confusion and a lack of information exchange between ministries and main administrative organs. In the eyes of our new NATO allies, we gained the reputation of being, to put it mildly, "unorganized."

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Our sources claim that the first person who learned about the possibility of exporting 45 Polish T-72 tanks for the Bosnian army (which Washington had volunteered to establish) was Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski, when he visited NATO headquarters.

By a strange coincidence, he "forgot" to take up the U.S. offer. U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry was very keen on the deal, thus the U.S. delegation to the NATO Workshop in Warsaw once more came forth with the project of supplying Polish tanks to Sarajevo. An additional contract for servicing and training was suggested. Only then did our experts from beyond the Ministry of National Defense [MON] learn about the offer...

It was decided that we would not sell our T-72 tanks. Dobrzanski personally wrote a letter to Secretary Perry, explaining that we were turning down the offer Washington had made to us because...we would have to dissolve at least one Polish armored regiment using our T-72's. The Americans were very well aware that we were applying for a contract to sell as many as 300 Polish T-72's to Pakistan (the bid was won by Ukraine and its T-80 UD tank).

Dobrzanski's letter was to be handed to Perry during Aleksander Kwasniewski's visit to the United States. Perry himself, however, took up the issue with the president. Aleksander Kwasniewski and Minister Jerzy Milewski [chief of the National security Office] promised the Americans that they would personally see that the issue was resolved successfully.

Impatient over the wait, the Americans in July tried to sound out how things were going. They were astonished to learn during talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ] that our diplomats knew nothing of the offer. As a consequence, several days ago they curtly and officially thanked us for our "involvement" and informed us that they were approaching another producer of the T-72 tanks (most probably Slovakia).

Interestingly enough, a ministry other than MON and the MSZ came up with the idea of "exerting pressure on the Americans to compensate us for the tank market we lost in Iran."

Poland: Prime Minister Urges Continuation of Economic Policy

LD1308091196 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0805 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 13 Aug (PAP)—Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz told journalists on Tuesday that, after half a year of his government being in office, now is as good a time as any to evaluate the activities of the Council of Ministers as a whole and of ministers individually. The head of government pointed out that the organizational and personnel consequences of the reform of the government's economic and administrative center, approved by parliament, also has to be thought through.

On being asked if, in connection with the reform, he does not exclude the dismissal of Finance Minister Grzegorz Kolodko, Cimoszewicz replied that he does not rule out any changes in the government's composition. He said that both he and Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych agreed in their discussion on Tuesday that the members of the governing coalition should have an open and imaginative approach to personnel matters and be guided by the principle of the professional standard and competence of ministers or those aspiring to be ministers.

Replying to a question about whether the government's economic policies should be continued after the administrative reform, the head of government said that the economic policies pursued by successive governments of the coalition have achieved very good results and should be continued along the same basic lines. Here, he drew attention to financial discipline, the curbing of inflation, and the aspiration to increase investment and exports. He noted, however, that the instruments of these policies have to be constantly updated and adapted to changing realities.

The prime minister said that he favors decisions on changes in the government being made individually as regards every ministerial post. He stated that a scenario whereby the whole government would be dismissed in the reform of the center is out of the question and completely groundless.

Poland: Spokeswoman: Oleksy White Paper To Appear in Sep

WS1308113596 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Aug 96 p 2

[Report by Ma.S.: "Aleksandra Jakubowska: The White Paper Will Not Be a Bestseller"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The work on the white paper on the so-called Jozef Oleksy case is nearing completion. The document, published as a book, will be available in book shops most probably in September. That information was provided by Government Spokeswoman Aleksandra Jakubowska at a news conference yesterday.*

The title of the publication, as well as the graphic design, is already known. The publisher is the Government Information Center. The commission that is preparing the documents for publication has already held its

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first meeting with representatives of the printing house. Jakubowska revealed that, in the last phase of preparing the document for publication, the problem arose of whether to publish the four-letter words found in the documents. "We decided to include them because they show the mentality of the people who use such language," the spokeswoman said. The book is to consist of 800 to 1,000 pages. Jakubowska does not think it may become a bestseller, so the edition will not be large. "This might have happened if the white paper had come out earlier—in the spring," she added. One of the wholesalers is to distribute the publication among book shops; the price of the book will only cover the publishing costs. Other possibilities (a profit or a subsidy) were, according to the spokeswoman's information, rejected.

Asked about the evaluation of ministers, which is to be made by the prime minister after six months from the day he assumed his office, the spokeswoman said that these issues would be discussed at a session of the coalition leadership. She did not rule out changes in the ministries affected by the changes linked to the reform of the central governing bodies. Speaking about Deputy Prime Minister Grzegorz Kolodko, she said that "no finance minister in any country can be sure of his post."

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Romania: Iliescu To Officially Announce Candidacy 28 Aug

AU1208152196 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 7 Aug 96 p 1

[Article by Rodica Ciobanu: "President Iliescu Tells the PDSR To Hold Its Head High"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Iliescu's Electoral Campaign Will Not Be Separated From His Party

Yesterday afternoon on a visit to Focsani Municipality, President Ion Iliescu attended the festivities organized at the mausoleum in Marasesti. Previously, the head of our state called on several companies in that county and attended the inauguration of a new CEC [Savings and Loan Bank] branch. At the headquarters of the Focsani Prefect's Office he held a one-hour dialogue with managers of companies in that region. He promised them support in solving some more complicated problems. Approximately 200 people gathered in the central square waiting to see Iliescu. The president took off his coat and mingled among them, shaking their hands. Some of them complained about their low salaries or their allowances, which amount to next to nothing, while others' expressions seemed to be very happy; one women, after shaking hands with Iliescu, declared: "Now I am satisfied. I might as well go home." Still others, without rushing to meet the president, were commenting from a distance: "The comrade has come to visit."

President Iliescu gave the following brief exclusive interview to the ADEVARUL correspondent:

[Reporter] Is this your first electoral action, Mr. President?

[Iliescu] This is no electoral action, as the campaign has not started yet. I have come here to attend the Marasesti festivities.

[Reporter] You are not accompanied, as you usually are, by PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] leaders. Why is that?

[Iliescu] They have their own businesses, I have mine.

[Reporter] When will you announce your candidacy officially?

[Iliescu] On 28 August.

[Reporter] Will your electoral campaign be separated from that of your party [PDSR]?

[Iliescu] No.

Wishing to examine the situation of the ruling party, which has already gathered 205,000 signatures supporting his plans to run for a new presidential term, Iliescu then went to the PDSR headquarters in Focsani. Previously, Adrian Nastase [PDSR executive president] had held a meeting with members of the Executive Bureau of the PDSR Focsani branch. Nastase, however, did not accompany the president during his one-day tour of the county. We asked Mr. Iliescu about the message he conveyed to the PDSR local branch. "I told them to hold their heads high," he replied promptly.

After having greeted the 200 sympathizers who had gathered in front of the PDSR headquarters, the president, together with the prominent personalities of the town, went for lunch to the Vineyard House, a restaurant run by the Focsani AGROIND company, whose director, Horia Furtuna, is vice president of the Focsani PDSR.

Romania: Iliescu Reportedly Planning Judicial 'Purge'

AU1208190896 Bucharest ZIUA in Romanian 8 Aug 96 p 4

[Article by Razvan Savaliuc: "The Iliescu Regime Prepares for a Purge Among the Magistrates Who Do Not Play Into Party Hands"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Recent signs indicate that a genuine purge campaign has been unleashed against the judges and public prosecutors who, over the past few years, passed just sentences, but which ran counter to the interests of the Iliescu regime. In an interview published in yesterday's issue of daily CURIERUL NATIONAL, Justice Minister Iosif Gavril Chiuzbaian announced that 81 judges and prosecutors have not met the criteria to be appointed as tenured magistrates (that is, who cannot be replaced or fired from their offices without their consent.) The reason? The Supreme Council of the Magistracy and Ion Iliescu did not consider that the magistrates in question met the criteria necessary for that status.

According to Law 92 of 1992 referring to the organization of justice courts, the fate of the judges and prosecutors in question, who did not manage to get into the favor of the Power, now depends exclusively on the whims of Justice Minister Chiuzbaian, as well as those of the prosecutor general, who, as stipulated by Article 130 of the aforementioned law, are authorized to make decisions "until they achieve the tenure status, on the appointment, transfer, promotion, suspension, and the release from office of judges and public prosecutors." In other words, the 81 blacklisted magistrates are facing demotion on the basis of the same law, which in Article 129 Paragraph 2 stipulates that "The appointment of

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judges to tribunals and courts of justice is to be completed within two years beginning with the publishing date of the current law in the MONITORUL OFICIAL." As the two-year deadline expired on 4 August 1994, it isunderstood that the 81 "outlawed" magistrates have no more business in courts and therefore they are to be demoted in the near future. Of course, among them one can also find certain people who have discredited themselves by getting involved in various dirty affairs. The latter, however, are being used just as an excuse to get rid of dozens of other juridical experts who preferred keeping their honor and refused to play the game of the rulers. [passage omitted]

Romania: Foreign Minister Outlines Policy Priorities

AU1308091896 Bucharest JURNALUL NATIONAL in Romanian 6 Aug 96 pp 16-17

[Interview with Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu by Sabin Gagiu; place and date not given: "We Cannot Afford To Waste Time Because of the Coming Elections and for Other Reasons"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Gagiu] Mr. Minister, tell us about your recent visit to the United States and the results of the negotiations for Romania's admission to NATO?

[Melescanu] As far as I am concerned, the most important conclusion is that no final decision has been made regarding the way in which NATO's expansion will take place. Everybody knows that the decisionmaking process is in progress. Therefore, things seem quite clear for me: Given the fact that discussions on the ways and means of expansion are taking place, and thanks to the meetings I had and arguments I presented, I believe that Romania is among the countries being considered for inclusion in this process of expansion. I think the most important result of my visit is that the U.S. Administration is determined to support Romania's integration in NATO and other structures to which it does not yet belong, such as the EU.

[Gagiu] The U.S. Senate passed a bill on increasing foreign aid to the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary by $60 million, so that these countries can modernize their armies in view of their forthcoming NATO admission. Mr. Minister, does that amount to a differentiation by the United States vis-a-vis the NATO candidate countries?

[Melescanu] No! There is no doubt that certain preferences exist. [passage omitted] However, if we look at the text of the law adopted by the House of Representatives and more recently by the Senate, we notice that the situation is more complex than the mere matter of $60 million for the respective three countries. While the text adopted by the House of Representatives only names three countries, the Senate draft contains two amendments: one referring to Slovenia's inclusion alongside of the other three and the second is a special amendment for Romania—introduced by Hank Brown—which stipulates that Romania should be considered and supported along these lines.

In my opinion, I would say that the law adopted by the U.S. Senate is a very clear signal for us, too, that Romania is being regarded as one of the countries which should begin the process for admission to NATO as soon as possible.

[Gagiu] You said that "we cannot allow to waste these few months until the end of the year, which are essential for Romania's future evolution." Please elaborate on this statement.

[Melescanu] There are still very important things to do in terms of our foreign policy, namely Romania's integration in the EU and NATO. [passage omitted] Therefore, I said that we are now at an extremely important point in our efforts, and we cannot afford to waste time because of the forthcoming electoral race or other reasons. This is not a year when we can indulge in relaxing our efforts. On the contrary, this is a period in which we must intensify our efforts, at the international level, toward influencing the decisionmaking process on these matters. Last Thursday, I had a meeting with the ambassadors of the NATO countries in Bucharest, whom I briefed on the results and conclusions of my recent visits abroad and on our internal resolution to work very consistently toward admission to NATO.

[Gagiu] Recently, you visited Paris at the invitation of your French counterpart. What is France's position vis-a-vis Romania's efforts for admission to the EU and NATO?

[Melescanu] After discussions with the foreign minister and the prime minister, the conclusions are very clear: Regarding EU's expansion, France is categorically in favor of dealing with all EU candidatures on an equal footing. France opposes any discriminatory approach. [passage omitted] Regarding NATO, France believes that one cannot realistically talk about NATO's expansion without taking into consideration Romania, as one of the first countries that qualify for this process of expansion. As a matter of fact, the French foreign minister told me very clearly that there has never been—and there will never be—an occasion when France did not expressly mention Romania's name in connection with the process of NATO expansion. [passage omitted] To this, I would like to add that I visited Greece a short while ago, I believe it was two to three weeks

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ago, and I realized—from discussions with my Greek counterpart—that they decided and actually proceeded to set up a special directorate to support the region's countries in their EU integration efforts. [passage omitted]

[Gagiu] Britain's secretary of state for defense recently visited our country. What were the results of this visit?

[Melescanu] Talks with Mr. Portillo, who was on his first visit to our country, were held at the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He also met with political leaders, parliamentarians, and other representatives of the Romanian political class. These meetings confirmed for him that Romania's goal of integration in the EU and NATO enjoys very broad support of the Romanian political class and of the public at large—in fact, some 95 percent of Romania's population supports the idea of joining NATO. [passage omitted] We also had a very frank discussion on the need to work out a script for NATO's expansion. As a matter of fact, everybody agreed that the expansion process has started and will be continued. What we are doing now is trying to see how this expansion will proceed. In this respect, I would like to say that I was very pleased with the fact that Mr. Portillo understood the importance and consequences for Romania regarding the notion of a first wave of candidate countries or the idea of waves altogether. I believe he was very sensitive to our arguments in favor of viewing NATO expansion as a process—which surely begins with one country and ends with another, but it is a process nonetheless—guaranteed to continue without interruption until the last country, which wishes it and meets the necessary criteria, is admitted to NATO. [passage omitted]

[Gagiu] The United States has said "no" to autonomy on ethnic criteria and Hungary has promised Washington not to ask for territorial changes to benefit Hungarian minorities. What will be the impact of these developments on the Romanian-Hungarian negotiations on the basic treaty?

[Melescanu] There is no doubt that the position of the U.S. Administration and the clarifications made by the Budapest authorities should be interpreted as positive steps in the negotiations. Unfortunately, they come after a negative development—the adoption of the Budapest Declaration—about which we also asked for certain clarifications through diplomatic channels. We expressed very serious reservations even after receiving the due clarifications, because they did not cover some of the issues we raised. When such declarations are issued, it is important to ensure that any legal treaty be based on a recognition of the territorial-political realities and also rely on the unanimously acknowledged principles of international and European law, a basic principle of which is full observation of the sovereignty of states. One should also realize that there are no collective rights for individuals belonging to the national minorities and that the solution to their real problems—which are mainly linked to the preservation of their national, linguistic, or religious identity—is achieved within the legal system of each state, by taking into consideration international standards and obligations assumed by the respective country.

However, as I already said, the clarifications received from Budapest come after the adoption of the respective declaration and, although they are very important, many things still remain unclear, including the issue of financial support for autonomy, which, in our opinion, can negatively influence the process of negotiations. Therefore, we are grateful for any clarifications that recognize the ideas we have promoted during the course of negotiations, and we hope that that they will continue to be forthcoming, especially from the authorities in Budapest. There is no doubt that they will have a positive impact on the negotiations.

[Gagiu] Where do the negotiations on the political treaties of good neighborliness with Hungary and Ukraine stand?

[Melescanu] The treaty with Hungary is finalized, to a large extent. Only certain dispositions of the chapter on cooperation between the two countries in the promotion of human rights and the rights of persons belonging to the national minorities are still pending. Right now, there are two compromise proposals under discussion—one submitted by us and one of a more international nature. These proposals are being examined by the Hungarian side, and if a positive answer is received, we hope to hold a new round of negotiations at an expert level. Until then, we will search for a formula to finalize the text of the treaty during the month of August.

Regarding Ukraine, the treaty has also been drafted to a large extent, with the difficulties being of another nature, namely the way in which the respective treaty should reflect certain moments of our recent history, which are very important to us. I am referring to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Of course, certain compromise attempts and preliminary formulas have been discussed, and we hope to be able to agree on an acceptable formula. As far as Romanian-Ukrainian relations are concerned, we suggested a future-oriented formula, where the treaty is a means of developing relations on several levels. Of course, you cannot look to the future without an assessment of the past. Here, the difficulty right now is more of a moral and political nature,

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rather than a legal one. Therefore, there are no principled problems in finalizing this draft treaty, but rather problems linked to the way in which we approach this document, which has a such a great moral and political relevance for us. As far as we are concerned, our relationship with Ukraine is very important. Therefore, when we talk about the treaty, we place the issue in this political context, namely the fact that Ukraine is our largest neighbor, one of our most important economic partners, a country with great possibilities and no doubt one of the countries with which we will cooperate very closely, including within the context of our efforts to integrate in NATO. Until now, Ukraine has had a positive attitude in this respect. This is quite natural, since I am convinced that Romania's admission to NATO would enhance Ukraine's security, independence, and territorial integrity.

[Gagiu] Mr. Minister, as of Monday you go on leave. Where do you intend to spend your vacation?

[Melescanu] Since I am preparing for the negotiations with Hungary, I will go to Covasna.

Romania: UDMR Head Criticizes U.S. Stand on Budapest Declaration

AU1308083796 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 10 Aug 96 p 3

[Report by MEDIAFAX: "Bela Marko Considers Christopher Smith's Assessment of the Budapest Declaration a Wrong Interpretation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The assessment referring to the Budapest Declaration that was made by Christopher Smith, president of the U.S. Congress Helsinki Committee, is considered by Bela Marko [president of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania—UDMR] to be "a wrong interpretation" of that document.

In the opinion of the UDMR leader the Budapest Declaration does not exceed the limits for international documents and norms, or the concepts worked out by the UDMR.

Bela Marko believes that this document lacks any new elements and therefore "should not alert or alarm anyone."

The UDMR president expressed his indignation over the fact that no notice seems to have been taken of the six points of the Budapest Declaration that detail the issue of Hungary's cooperation with its neighboring countries, as well as Hungary's intent to support those countries in joining European bodies.

As Marko said, the UDMR adopted the Budapest declaration because they consider that document balanced, both from the conceptual and political points of view.

This is why the UDMR leader considers the U.S. congressman's assessment to be "a wrong interpretation."

UDMR Explains the Territorial Autonomy Notion

The UDMR does not consider territorial autonomy and local autonomy as one and the same thing, as in their opinion territorial autonomy represents "local autonomy and having special status," Marko stated.

Territorial autonomy is interpreted by UDMR as the autonomy of local administration, which also has special status, referring to the specific nature of the counties in which an ethnic Hungarian population holds the majority. Among other things, this special status is comprised of the right to use their mother tongue "besides the Romanian language" in local public administration, as well as educational and cultural issues specific to the ethnic Hungarian minority living in Romania.

Local autonomy is perceived by the UDMR as "the decentralization of administration throughout the entire country, in each and every county."

Mr. Gyorgy Frunda, the presidential candidate designated by the UDMR, recently stated that the UDMR has never requested autonomy on ethnic criteria, but rather territorial autonomy.

Romania: UDMR Leader Opposes Compromise Over Treaty

LD1208213096 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Tibor Bogdan reports from Bucharest on UDMR [Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania] Executive Chairman Csaba Takacs's views on a joint Hungarian-Romanian interpretation of Recommendation No. 1201 of the Council of Europe.

[Bogdan] Csaba Takacs told Hungarian radio this evening that, as far as he knows, the Romanian interpretation is about what Recommendation No. 1201 does not include [as opposed to what it does include]. The UDMR cannot agree with its narrow [szuekitoe] interpretation because, in its opinion, this document does not refer to any form of autonomy that would violate the sovereignty and territorial unity of any states. The UDMR continues to refer to the Hungarian government position that it will not sign a treaty with Romania in which the minority clauses differ from those of the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty. Interpretations, even joint ones, only give rise to dispute in the

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future, like in the case of the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty. The UDMR executive chairman concluded:

[Begin Takacs recording] The UDMR will not welcome a compromise. It would only welcome the signing of a treaty which is acceptable to Romania and the Hungarian ethnic community living in Romania as well as Hungary and the Romanian ethnic minority living in Hungary, a treaty which can form the basis of reconciliation and long-term, well-balanced good-neighborly relations.

However, we are of the view that rather than making a compromise, that is adopting an interpretation unacceptable to any of the sides, it is best to postpone the signing of the treaty until the right political situation and political will exist. [end recording]

Romania: UDMR To Get No Money From Hungary for Election Campaign

LD1208163996 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] has prepared an action plan for its election campaign. Tibor Bogdan reports from Bucharest:

[Bogdan] The UDMR has decided to put forward candidates for parliamentary deputy and senator seats in every county, including those populated by Romanians.

The UDMR will receive no financial support from Hungary for the election campaign and it will have no major sponsors either. Therefore, the organization has appealed to the Hungarian community in Romania for intellectual and financial support for the campaign.

The UDMR has addressed a three-tier election message to the population, Hungarians and Romanians alike. According to this, the aim of the UDMR is to promote Romania's European and Euro-Atlantic integration, to implement its program to tackle the current crisis, and to achieve peaceful coexistence with the majority Romanian population through the observance of minority rights.

The UDMR also announced that the collection of 100,000 signatures supporting Gyorgy Frunda's nomination as a presidential candidate will be completed this week.

Romania: PNTCD President Considers CDR Cooperation With USD, ANL

AU1208184196 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 10-11 Aug 96 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The CDR Wishes To Govern Together With the USD or the ANL"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a statement made last Friday [9 August] to the MEDIAFAX new agency, Ion Diaconescu, president of the PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party], said he wants his party to govern Romania together with the other parties belonging to the CDR [Democratic Convention of Romania]. If the CDR will be unable to obtain an absolute majority in Parliament after the elections this fall, however, Diaconescu said that the CDR will successively make coalition offers to the Social-Democratic Union [USD] and the National Liberal Alliance [ANL]. Diaconescu excludes the idea of cooperating with the parties "that caused harm to Romania's image." "Nor do I see any possibility for CDR-PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] cooperation, especially if the latter resorts to tricks similar to those in 1992," added Diaconescu.

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Slovenia: Daily Analyzes Main Party Newspapers

AU1208174196 Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 5 Aug 96 p 5

[Article by Sonja H. Vogric: "Interspar's Advertisements and Obituaries"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 5 August—Almost all of the more important parliamentary parties publish their own party newspapers or have secured themselves an important share in the ownership and thus, also, an influence on the editorial policy in a newspaper. Examples include the Slovene Christian Democrats [SKD] and the daily SLOVENEC. Considerable changes were recently noted in a few party newspapers, which included increased graphic quality and capability and expanded circulation to include the general public (and not only their own members). These changes are, of course, mainly or solely linked to the coming elections.

The most opulent party newspaper is called 4000 and is published by the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia [LDS]. It is basically a magazine.

It Is Nice If Someone Else Reads It

It was first issued as a monthly in October 1994 (although it was not issued monthly). Ten thousand copies of the newspaper are published, and, according to Gregor Golobic, the LDS general secretary, one issue [izvod] costs approximately 1 million Slovene tolars [SIT]. Until now, the newspaper had been intended exclusively for party members (the price had been included in the party membership fee). The last issue (the July double issue) was also sold to the general public for SIT190. According to Petra Skofic, the editor of the newspaper, it is still a newspaper for party members, "but, if someone wants to buy it, it is nice if they can get it."

VIR, the newspaper of the SKD, is intended almost exclusively for party members. VIR succeeded DRAMILO in January 1996. VIR is a monthly (black and white with color cover pages) and has a circulation of 7,000. According to Leon Marc, the editor, one issue costs about SIT100. The newspaper is received only by subscribers, who are for the most part members. They are not considering expanding circulation because this would involve excessive costs.

No Debt for the Newspaper

The only party newspaper—we considered only the newspapers of the five largest parties—that has been available to the general public from the very beginning (since 1990) is SLOVENSKE BRAZDE. This is the newspaper of the Slovene People's Party [SLS] and is published by the company Brazde d.o.o. [limited responsibility company]. SLOVENSKE BRAZDE is a weekly with a circulation of a little over 14,000.... Boza Gresovnik, director of the company and chief editor, said that 20 percent of the issues are sold at newspaper stands (at a price of SIT100), and the rest are sent to subscribers. The editorial staff hopes to expand the newspaper by eight pages and to publish it in color. However, the Brazde company does not have the means to do that (according to Gresovnik, they had a profit of SIT12,000 this year) and neither does the party. "And we will not go into debt for this," the editor said.

The United List of Social Democrats [ZLSD] has proved that it is important enough, or at least welcome, to have a newspaper in the preelection period. The ZLSD recently decided to issue the tabloid PREPIH until the elections, with a circulation of 50,000. The chief secretary of the party, Dusan Kumer, says that the idea of a newspaper has been around for a long time and that its publication was not prompted just because of elections. They do intend to start publishing a serious newspaper after the elections. They send 20,000 issues of PREPIH to their members, and the rest is given out on the streets. Every issue of PREPIH costs the party SIT700,000, and the symbolic price of the paper is SIT1.

Considerable changes will be made to the newspaper DAN, which was first published in March. It is published by Veda d.o.o., but it is widely known that this newspaper is "closely linked" to the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia [SDS], which was confirmed by the new editor, Marcel Koprol. DAN is a monthly and has so far had a circulation of 17,000. The price of one issue for the general public is SIT80 (about 1,500 issued have been sold at newspaper stands, and the rest were given to SDS members free). Beginning in September, DAN will be issued in three colors and on 24 pages, and the circulation will be increased to 24,000. Moreover, a subscription will be introduced. Koprol did not know exactly how much the publication of DAN had cost so far but said that the newspaper is funded by donations, as well as through a special press fund. In the fall, it will be financed solely through subscriptions. Koprol says that DAN is intended for all Slovenes, and one will be able to read things in it that one cannot read in SLOVENEC, DNEVNIK, DELO, and VECER.

Royalties Paid Only by 4000 and DAN

The decision on whether to have a party newspaper that is exclusively for party members or one that is also available to the general public directly influences the content of the newspaper. In the first case (a newspaper for the party members), the content focuses primarily on party matters and the most important people in the party because they use the newspaper "to address their

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members." On the other hand, the newspapers that are available to the general public or are handed out try to attract readers and especially voters with their various (party-slanted) contents.

Just as the party newspapers differ by content, form, and objectives (which are greatly influenced by the leaderships of the parties), they also differ by the statures of their editors and whether royalties for articles and photographs are paid. The LDS 4000 is edited by Petra Skofic, who is head of the public relations service, just like Tanja Drofenik, who edits the PREPIH of the ZLSD. Leon Marc is employed as the international secretary of the SKD and the personal secretary of [SKD leader] Lojze Peterle, and the editorial work is a collateral assignment. Boza Gresovnik, together with an assistant and two administrative clerks, are fully employed as editors of SLOVENSKE BRAZDE. Since 1 August, Marcel Koprol has been fully employed as the editor of DAN. The royalties for some articles, and especially for photographs, are regularly paid by 4000, and in September DAN will begin paying royalties for its articles. The other three newspapers basically do not pay any royalties.

They Do Not Care About the "Competition"

These party newspapers do have an especially great influence among Slovene media. It is interesting that even the aforementioned five persons that we spoke to did not know anything or knew very little about the newspapers of the competing parties.

Petra Skofic said that she knows the other parties' newspapers but that she does not read them. This is because "it is unpleasant to read a newspaper that writes about everything that is wrong in the LDS. I must say that 4000 has a positive approach, whereas the others are negative." Boza Gresovnik does not know VIR, DAN, or PREPIH. She had seen 4000 once and says that it is "too biased in favor of the party, which is something that people do not like. Moreover, I do not like its form. A newspaper has to be such that every reader can read it." Marcel Koprol also does not read party newspapers, and he evaluated the newest PREPIH of the ZLSD. "It reminds me of the Spar advertisement, but PREPIH has fewer pages. Moreover, PREPIH costs one tolar, whereas the Spar advertisement is free," he said. Dusan Kumer does not read SLOVENSKE BRAZDE, he has never seem VIR, and he does not like DAN because it is black and white. That is why he reads 4000. "I read it because it publishes theoretical articles about liberalism and perspectives in Slovenia. I try to compare these to the Slovene Government practices. And, in this regard, I must say, I am always disappointed," he said. Leon Marc had only seen the first issue of DAN, which he found "too partisan, and from an artistic point of view it looks too much like an obituary." According to him, 4000 of the LDS is very rich and opulent, which shows that "the LDS obviously has great financial capabilities." He said that "SLOVENSKE BRAZDE is primarily intended for farmers."

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Federal

FRY: Government Assesses Relations With Croatia, Others

LD1308121196 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1022 GMT 13 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 13 Aug (TANJUG)—At today's federal government session, which was chaired by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, the federal government reviewed the report on preparations for the normalization of relations between the FRY and the Republic of Croatia. The report was submitted by federal Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic, the federal Ministry of Information announced. The government made a positive assessment of the development of Yugoslav-Croatian relations so far, especially in the area of economic cooperation and the resolution of pending humanitarian problems.

The report highlighted the importance of creating the necessary conditions to resolve the controversial issues of Prevlaka [Croatian territory], the free and secure return of refugees and displaced persons, safeguarding their property and physical security, and resolving pension and invalidity benefit issues.

The readiness of the FRY to begin the normalization of relations with Croatia and other former Yugoslav republics, which is of paramount importance for the progress of the peace process, stability, development, and cooperation in the region, was confirmed.

The federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs was entrusted with continuing direct activities to normalize relations with Croatia and the other former Yugoslav republics.

The federal government outlined the position to be adopted at the talks between federal Finance Minister Tomica Raicevic and senior officials of the British Finance Ministry and with representatives of the "Nat West markets," the main financial adviser to the FRY, which are to be held in London on 14 August, the statement concludes.

FRY: Over 220,000 B-H Refugees Register for Sep Elections

AU1208151196 Paris AFP in English 1420 GMT 12 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 12 (AFP)—Almost a quarter of a million Bosnian refugees living in the rump Yugoslavia have registered to vote in Bosnia's first post-war general elections, the Western organisation supervising the poll said here Monday.

Zivota de Luka, spokesman for the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, said some 220,640 refugees had registered with the OSCE for the September 14 polls.

Some 97,636 had opted to vote in Federal Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the remainder deciding to cast their ballots in person in the Balkan republic, mainly in Bosnia's Serb entity.

Voters opting to cast their ballot in Yugoslavia will vote between August 28 and September 3 under OSCE supervision, de Luka said.

A total of 633,584 Bosnian refugees—Muslims, Serbs and Croats—living in 28 different countries, have registered with the OSCE to vote in the poll, he added.

Serbia

Serbia: Democratic Party Urges Opposition Parties To Join Forces

AU0908135196 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1234 GMT 9 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 9 August (BETA)—The coalition of all democratic opposition parties, including the Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS), is the only right and winning combination that can triumph over the ruling party in the elections, Democratic Party spokesman Slobodan Vuksanovic stated today.

"The Serbian political 'dream team' is the united democratic opposition," Vuksanovic emphasized at the news conference.

Democratic Party Vice President Miodrag Perisic warned that the "opposition will marginalize itself forever in political life if it deals with marginal problems."

"We insist on the survival of the 'Together' coalition and the DSS's joining it. Any further fragmentation of the opposition would equal political suicide. This would further tarnish the reputation of the opposition among the voters," Perisic assessed.

He said that "nobody has the right to play with the voters" and that the opposition carries a great responsibility.

"I am convinced and I hope that Draskovic (leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement) wants the same as the Democratic Party—a change of regime—and I am convinced that he does not think what he has lately been imputed to think—namely, that he does not want the 'Together' coalition," Perisic said.

However, he warned that the Democratic Party would not allow anyone to meddle in the makeup of the electoral lists and said that the Democratic Party calls

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upon the coalition partners to discuss the controversial issues once again.

"There cannot be a serious coalition without serious compromises," Perisic assessed, emphasizing that the coalition partners maintain daily contact and that the Democratic Party will propose a meeting of the executive committees of all three parties (the Serbian Renewal Movement, the Democratic Party, and the Civic Alliance of Serbia).

Asked whether Vladimir Gajic and Mihajlo Markovic (former members of the Serbian Renewal Movement) will also end up on the Democratic Party electoral lists, he replied that it is the Democratic Party's sovereign right to choose whom it will put on the list.

"Milicic and Paroski will be on the list. This is our autonomous right. We do not meddle in the electoral lists of other coalition partners, although we could raise some objection, too," Perisic said.

The Democratic Party vice president voiced the belief that the federal elections should be held on 3 November, the same date as the republican elections in Montenegro because this was a matter of saving money.

"A different date would result in great costs for the federal executive authorities. I do not believe the authorities will expose themselves to great costs," Perisic added.

Serbia: New Democracy Discusses Entering Coalitions

AU0908065196 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1434 GMT 8 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 8 August (BETA)—Cedomir Mirkovic, deputy chairman of New Democracy, said today that the party is preparing to run in the elections independently but is also open to pre- and post-election coalitions.

At a news conference held by New Democracy, Mirkovic said that the coming elections in the FRY were of particular importance because they are the first elections not held during a crisis or a war in neighboring regions.

He pointed out that New Democracy is ready to coalesce only with parties whose platforms are similar to New Democracy's because all "unprincipled coalitions are soon to break up." [passage omitted]

Asked whether a New Democracy coalition with the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] and the Yugoslav United Left is likely, he answered that it did not depend on only one party and that New Democracy had "many things in common with the SPS, like its support for peace, stability, and development of a civic society." [passage omitted]

According to Mirkovic, the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina are of great importance because after them the implementation of the section of the Dayton accord that has to do with state-legal matters will begin, and also because a number of new people will take up leading positions in both entities, who are more legitimate than the majority of current officials.

He assessed that after the elections many refugees will return to their homes, and the future of Bosnia will be much clearer.

Mirkovic pointed to the necessity of creating as normal conditions for the elections as possible because that will be an opportunity for "more sober and democratic forces." He also stressed that "one should not fan illusions that nationalists have been defeated and discouraged."

"There is a real danger that citizens, fearing the other side's nationalism, may extend support to the nationalism of their own people," Mirkovic assessed, expressing hope that "in time the Serb Republic's ties to the FRY and Serbia will grow ever stronger."

Serbia: New Democracy Expects No Serb Exodus From E. Slavonia

AU0808192296 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1303 GMT 8 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 8 August (BETA)—The deputy chairman of the New Democracy party, Cedomir Mirkovic, today assessed the meeting of Serbian President Milosevic and Croatian President Tudjman in Athens as extremely important for the improvement of mutual relations and circumstances in the region.

"The greatest value of the Athens agreement is that it gives priority to the creation of preconditions for the return of Serb refugees to their homes, as well as that it is stipulated by a general amnesty," Mirkovic assessed at a news conference. [passage omitted]

Asked whether he expects a new exodus of Serbs from eastern Slavonia to follow, he said that he expected "no such thing."

"I expect the realization of the Athens agreement to enable a considerable number of Serbs to return to the region where they used to live. If the Athens agreement comes to realization, no exodus should be expected," added the deputy chairman of the New Democracy.

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"The announcement of mutual recognition is precisely a sign that the agreement will be observed," Mirkovic concluded.

Montenegro

Montenegro: People's Party on Setting Up Democratic Coalition

AU1208143196 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Aug 96 pp 1-2

[Interview with Novak Kilibarda, leader of the People's Party of Montenegro, by Dragoljub Vukovic; place and date not given: "People of Montenegro, Make Up Your Mind!"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The central axis that is needed to start up the mechanism of the democratic coalition in Montenegro has already been set up. This axis is made up of the People's Party [NS] and the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro [LSC]. We are still waiting for written replies from, first, the Social Democratic Party [SDP] and, of course, the Democratic Alliance of Albanians and the Party of Democratic Action. We have already held talks with the latter two. This axis—the future coalition—is open to all parties that are of an opposition nature and democratic dignity. It is of course open to individuals and groups of intellectuals, which already seems will happen. The coalition is therefore here. The two strongest opposition parties, the NS and the LSC, have done what they have done, and I am quite optimistic about the fact that a harmonized opposition bloc will be established by the democratic parties. This would of course mean the removal from power of the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS] and its regime.

"I can already tell you that the coalition will most probably be called the List of National Accord [Lista narodne sloge]," Novak Kilibarda, the leader of the NS of Montenegro, told us in his interview for NASA BORBA. [passage omitted]

[Vukovic] Numerous small Serb parties in Montenegro are accusing you of betraying Serb interests. I have the impression that a great deal of the propaganda against the NS as a member of the coalition will be based on this. To what extent can this objectively harm the National Assembly?

[Kilibarda] It cannot at all. The vocabulary of these parties that you are mentioning is already totally anachronistic. We want to do big things, to calm the people in Montenegro, so that a Montenegrin brother and a Serb brother do not slaughter each other. And they are discussing some kind of unitarianism, and so on. The NS is now saying what it said in the beginning—extreme Montenegrin separatism and extreme Serb unitarianism cannot have a positive point of origin of the same extent. [sentence as published] The NS knows that it is best for Montenegro to be in a federal alliance with Serbia. Montenegro must have its statehood at least as much as Serbia does. It can contribute part of the statehood to the federal state, neither more nor less than Serbia. Mentioning our motto from the very beginning—if we are brothers, then our sisters are not purses [kese]—and speaking with an archaic vocabulary is somewhat boring. [sentence as published]

Kosovo

Kosovo: QIK Notes Serb Violence Against Albanians in Podujevo

AU0608160396 Tirana ATA in English 1853 GMT 3 Aug 96

["Podujevo—Objective of Serbian Police Violence"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prishtina, August 3 (ATA)—About 500 Albanians have been maltreated by Serbian police during the first half of the current year, reports the Information Centre of Kosova [QIK].

During this period, 46 Albanian houses have been searched, 168 controls have been carried out by police searching for arms and 114 Albanians have been physically manhandled.

Also 24 activists of the Democratic League of Kosova have been maltreated in the offices of Serbian security, eight have been sentenced with imprisonments, whereas ten Albanians are in the process of trials.

Violence has also been exerted on traders. Some of their commodities estimated at 3,780 DM [German marks] have been confiscated during the first half of 1996.

About 50 Albanians were subjected to a savage violence in June.

The report of the Information Centre of Kosova also says that during May, Serbian authorities have issued 20 warrants to Albanian youngsters to be recruited in the Serbian Army. Also 50 Albanian youths have been recently summoned in Kacanik.

An enigmatic powerful explosion occurred near a police station command in Podujeve [Podujevo] (Eastern Kosova, zone bordered with Serbia) at 2030.

As a result of the explosion, some auxiliary objects of the building of the former police station as well as some vehicles of the Serbian police were set on fire. After the explosion, Serbian police maltreated many Albanians in the city. Police do not allow movements out or into the

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city of Podujeve. To help local police in Podujeve a column with armoured vehicles arrived from Prishtina.

Also last night at about 21.00 a powerful explosion burst in the quarter of Muhaxher, near Serbian police station. Serbian police forces blocked the city quarter immediately. Authors and causes of the explosion are not yet identified.

Podujeve is a city in Kosova with a 99 per cent Albanian population and is situated near the border with Serbia.

Kosovo: PPK Blames Serbs for Recent 'Violence and Terror'

AU0808151696 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 8 Aug 96 p 5

[Statement by the Parliamentary Party of Kosova, PPK: "Serious Remarks for Forces That Are Interested in a Peaceful Solution to the Problem of Kosova"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The latest still unclarified explosions in Podujeve [Podujevo], Kerpimeh, Lluzhan, and Prishtina [Pristina] and the violence committed against the Albanian population following these incidents best testifies that it is the Serbian state in Kosova that has created the circumstances for political violence. These circumstances are determined by the daily violence of the Serbian police, the great concentration of military and paramilitary forces in Kosova, and the fact that Kosovar citizens are armed to the teeth. That is why the Serbian power itself bears the responsibility for every kind of violence and terror in Kosova.

The situation created after these acts is a barometer that shows that the Kosovar issue requires a just and expeditious solution; otherwise, such scenarios may escalate into a conflict with unforeseen dimensions for Kosova and the Balkans.

Such acts are also a sign for all of the forces in Serbia that are interested in a peaceful solution to the problem through peaceful means.

The PPK is committed to fighting against any political violence. The best solution to avoid political violence is the demilitarization of Kosova. That is the reason the PPK considers it important to be committed in this direction.

Kosovo: Explosion Targets Housing of Serb, Montenegrin Refugees

LD0908164696 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Pec, 9 Aug (TANJUG)—Milivoje Djurkovic, chairman of Decani municipal council [in Kosovo], told TANJUG today that unknown individuals threw or planted several explosive devices at a housing bloc at approximately 2330 yesterday in the village of Babaloc near Decani. The bloc is being built for Serb and Montenegrin refugees from Albania.

"Three unfinished houses and a bulldozer were damaged by the explosion, but, fortunately, no one was hurt," Djurkovic said.

The event aroused deep concern among inhabitants of Decani of Serb and Montenegrin nationality, particularly among the 1,500 Serb and Montenegrin refugees from Albania who are settled in Decani.

The Interior Ministry has not yet issued an official statement on the event.

Kosovo: Explosions Damage Home of Serb Refugees in Decan

AU1008182996 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 10 Aug 96

[Telephone report by correspondent Mehmet Haziri from Pristina]

[FBIS Translated Text] At approximately 2030 on 9 August, several explosions occurred at a domicile in Baballeq village in Decan [Decani] that is being constructed for Serbian refugees from Albania. The Serbian news agency TANJUG reports that the explosions damaged three houses and one excavator. There are no reports of injuries. The agency further stresses that these blasts have caused deep concern among Serbian and Montenegrin citizens, particularly among the 1,500 refugees from Albania who are settled in Decan.

The Serbian police have not yet issued a report on the incident. The latest explosions in Kosova have stirred up a new wave of repression against Albanians, particularly in the Podujeve [Podujevo] commune.

The Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms has reported that in Lapashtice in this commune, police entered the home of Abdulla Murati under the pretext of searching for weapons and abused Murati and several members of his family, including children. Murati was taken to the police station 15 times and was physically abused the same number of times. The Information Center of Kosova reports that the Serbian police have raided the homes of several families in Malisheve [Malisevo], Vushtrri [Vucitrn], and Skenderaj. Meanwhile, Serbian police in Gergoc in Gjakove [Djakovica] failed to carry out further actions.

After Isuf Limani failed to respond to police calls to hand over the weapon, which he did not possess, the police went to his house to arrest him. The villagers of Gergoc did not allow the police to arrest him.

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Following the resistance of the villagers, the Serbian police withdrew, threatening to return.

Reports from Gjakove confirm that Gergoc residents are determined to resist so that none of their compatriots be subject to Serbian police violence.

Kosovo: Rugova Briefs LKD on Visit by U.S. Diplomat

AU1008205496 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 10 Aug 96

[Telephone report by correspondent Leke Musolli from Pristina]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Speaking about the latest developments in Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, briefed Democratic League of Kosova [LDK] branch representatives on the visit by Mr. Richard Miles, the newest leader of the mission of the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade, to Prishtina [Pristina]. The U.S. delegation stayed in Prishtina to become closely acquainted with the situation in Kosova, as well as to establish contacts with the Kosova leadership, President Rugova said.

On this occasion, Dr. Rugova thanked the former U.S. diplomatic staff in Belgrade for the U.S. assistance and commitment in the affirmation and recognition of the Kosova issue, as well as in strengthening the close relations between the United States and Kosova.

President Rugova stressed that the Kosova issue remains at the center of the international community's attention and recalled that Prishtina is being visited by numerous foreign diplomats, who come to Kosova to familiarize themselves with the situation and to acquaint themselves with our project on the solution of the Kosova issue. They support us in our peaceful resistance and organization, President Rugova emphasized. [passage omitted]

Kosovo: Serb Official Urges Condemnation of 'Separatist' Attacks

AU1208153296 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 11 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac, 11 August (BETA)—Radmilo Bogdanovic, deputy chairman of the Council of Republics to the Federal Assembly and chairman of that Council's committee for defense and security, said that the separatist and violent actions by the ethnic Albanian terrorists in Kosovo "are already beginning to cause concern."

In today's broadcast of Radio Kragujevac entitled "The Seal of Time," he said that "the separatist, violent, and terrorist organizations of the Kosovo Albanians have become quite overbearing."

He warned that terrorist attacks are seriously influencing the stability of peace in Kosovo "because, if the secessionists are attacking the buildings of state bodies, what can citizens expect regarding protection of their own security and safety?"

Bogdanovic said that now in Kosovo, even despite the regular operation of state bodies, it is important to hear "a considerably greater political condemnation of terrorism by all well-disposed people and structures within the country, and of course, by the entire international community."

"Why are precisely the countries that are most engaged in the fight against terrorism not reacting to such terrorist attacks against the legal state institutions in Kosovo?" Bogdanovic wonders.

He pointed out that he is sure that "the terrorism in Kosovo is being encouraged from abroad" because those foreign countries and institutions are not intervening to subdue the terrorism pursued by some ethnic Albanians.

"The lack of a firm attitude on the part of the international factors regarding the settlement of the Kosovo issue is only encouraging separatist and terrorist forces among the ethnic Albanians," Bogdanovic said.

He pointed out that the state must be far more resolute in both political action to condemn terrorism and in the search for the perpetrators of criminal acts.

Bogdanovic said that, essentially, the basic goal of those actions has to do with the Kosovo Albanians' desire to "attract the attention of the world, so that they can show that somebody is against them and that they are being persecuted."

"The leadership of Ibrahim Rugova's extremist party is leading and supporting them in such actions," he said.

Bogdanovic stressed that "in Kosovo there are no very serious terrorist forces. That is armed pressure, and I do not believe in the existence of the so-called Army for the Liberation of Kosovo because Rugova is behind everything," Bogdanovic said.

He pointed out that terrorist attacks in Kosovo "cannot slow the course of the preparations for a dialogue between the current authorities in Serbia and the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo" and said that such negotiations should be carried out "without international mediators" because the Kosovo Albanians must acknowledge that they are citizens of Serbia and the FRY.

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